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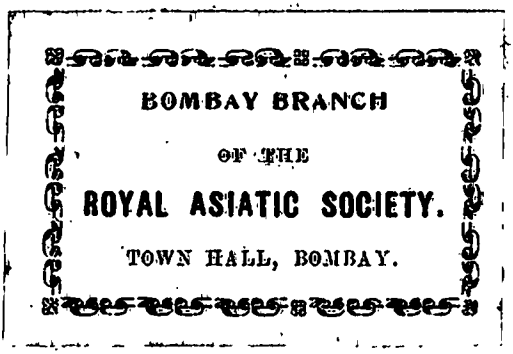

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HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

INTO THE

POLITICS, INTERCOURSE, AND TRADE OF THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY.

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ASIATIC NATIONS: BABYLONIANS, PHŒNICIANS, SCYTHIANS.

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PHŒNICIANS.

PHŒNICIANS.

THE reflection, that the origin and internal government of the great Asiatic empires were nearly all alike, in a great measure consoles the historian for the scantiness of the information which has been preserved respecting the Assyrian, the Median, and other powerful monarchies. Even if our accounts of these were ever so perfect, they would scarcely afford us a picture of higher interest than the history of the Mongol states;—an endless series of warlike expeditions; of intestine wars, and the rebellion of powerful satrapies; of despotism, wholly unrelaxed, or only ceasing to reappear under some new form. How strikingly different from this is the history of the nation to whom the present chapter is devoted. The severest loss which ancient history has to mourn, a loss irreparable, is that of the destruction of the records that should inform us of the affairs, the government, and the enterprises of the Phœnicians. In proportion to the vast influence which this nation had in the civilization of mankind by its own great inventions and discoveries, (and the

invention of alphabetical writing, is alone sufficient to shew their importance;) by its numerous colonies established in every quarter, and by its commerce extending even beyond these; the more sensibly we feel the gaps which the loss of these records leaves in the history of the human race. It is the conviction of the extent of this loss that gives the few fragments which have been preserved out of the great mass, a peculiar attraction to the historian; and though it may be impossible to compile from them a history of the Phœnicians, yet they will probably enable him to draw a tolerably faithful picture of the general character and genius of this nation in its various circumstances, and in the prosecution of its various undertakings. This object I think will be best attained by dividing the following researches into four chapters: the first of these will relate to the peculiar nature of the country, and the condition and government of the people; the second will contain a geographical sketch of their extensive colonies; and the third and fourth, a view, founded on the foregoing, of their commerce both by sea and land.

The Hebrew and Greek writers are here again the sources from which our materials must be drawn. Had some kind chance preserved us, among the latter, the works of Dius, and Menander of Ephesus[1], who wrote, in Tyre itself,

[1] JOSEPH. *Op.* p. 1042. ed. Colon. 1691. cf. FABRIC. *B. Gr.* i. p. 166. The fragments of Tyrian annals, preserved in Josephus, prove that these records were purely historic, and written according to the succession of kings, in a carefully determined chronological order; and that they

a history of that city compiled from her own annals, how much more complete might our information have been! Of the native writers of Phœnicia, we have indeed some fragments of the celebrated work of Sanconiathon, preserved in a Greek translation among the remains of Philo of Byblus; but were these even freer from interpolations than they appear to be, they would still remain of little value to the historian, because they are the least important part of the entire works of Sanconiathon; namely, the cosmogony and theogony with which he commenced his treatise.

A writer, lately deceased, has attempted to open a new source of information respecting the geography and commerce of the Phœnicians[2], by maintaining that the geography of Ptolemy, and the old maps of Agathodæmon, which are joined to it in the manuscripts, derive their origin from an ancient Phœnician atlas, and consequently give the most complete picture of the geography and commercial routes of that people. The principles of criticism, however, which I have prescribed to myself in the present work, have not allowed me to make an un-

must not, therefore, be classed with the fabulous relations of the Egyptians and Hindoos. Besides, as upon Alexander's conquest of Tyre, the city was not destroyed, and the great temple of Hercules, in which probably they were deposited, was anxiously saved from violence, the preservation of these documents cannot be considered strange.

[2] *Entdeckungen im Alterthum*, versucht von N. H. Brehmer, M. D. Weimar, 1822. (Studies in Antiquity, by N. H. Brehmer, etc.) The first part comprises Asia, and the second, Europe: these are all that have appeared,

reserved use of these, as yet unproved, discoveries. I have therefore contented myself with referring the reader to them where it appeared necessary. I have adopted this course the more readily, because, as far as they relate to Asia, the commercial routes which they lay down, although much more numerous, are, with some exceptions, on the farther side of India, the same in their general direction as those which will be found described upon my early maps of Asia, and proved from other authorities. With regard to the conjectures of the author, I have thought it most convenient to give my opinion upon them in an appendix at the end of the volume.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Internal condition and government of the Phœnicians.

WHO HATH TAKEN THIS COUNSEL AGAINST TYRE, THE DISTRIBUTER OF CROWNS, WHOSE MERCHANTS ARE PRINCES? ISAIAH xxiii. 8.

THE Phœnicians were a branch of the great Semetic or Aramean family of nations, which, at an epoch beyond the reach of history, occupied the extensive plains between the Mediterranean sea and the Tigris, the most southern point of Arabia and the Caucasian mountains, and whose common descent is fully established by the use of one principal language, divided into various dialects. Much too in the government of the Phœnicians will appear in a clearer light by our considering them, not as a distinct people, but as composed of Syrian tribes which had settled on the coasts; and in no ancient writer are they ever found distinguished by name from them. It appears likely that they came originally from Arabia[3]; probably the native country of the Semetic tribes in general, although in other regions, according to local circumstances, they adopted a

[3] See the enquiry in MICHAELIS *Spicileg. Geograph. Hebr. exter.* Vol. I. p. 166, etc.

different mode of life from the one they had been accustomed to in the sandy deserts of their parent country. The migrations of rude hordes at this early period is however a matter of very little consequence.

Phœnicia proper, even in its most flourishing state, was one of the smallest countries of antiquity. It comprised that part of the Syrian coast extending from Tyre to Aradus, a narrow strip of land about a hundred and twenty miles in length, from north to south; and probably nowhere more than eighteen or twenty miles in width. This short line of coast, rich in bays and harbours, was covered with lofty mountains, many of which ran out into the sea and formed promontories, and whose heights, covered with forests, supplied the most valuable material in the construction of the fleets and habitations of the Phœnicians. The larger range of these mountains bore the name of Libanus, from which another branch, the Antilibanus, stretched easterly towards Syria[4]. The sea, which broke with great fury upon this rocky shore, had probably separated some of these promontories from the main land, and which, forming little islands at a small distance from the shore, are not less worthy of note than the main land itself, being everywhere covered with extensive colonies and flourishing cities. Thus Aradus, the most northern frontier city of Phœnicia, was built on

[4] STRABO, p. 1095.

one of these islands[5]; and opposite to it on the main land was Antaradus, which derived its name from it. About eighteen miles to the south of this stood, and stills stands, Tripolis; and at a like distance, Byblus, with the temple of Adonis; and again, further south, Berytus. Keeping along the coast, we come to Sidon at nearly the same distance; and finally, fourteen or fifteen miles further, at the extreme southern boundary of the country, was erected, upon another island, the stately Tyre, the queen of Phœnician cities. The space between these places was covered with a number of towns of less import, but equally the abode of industry, and widely celebrated for their arts and manufactures. Among these were Sarephta, Botrys, Orthosia, and others; forming, as it were, one unbroken city, extending along the whole line of coast and over the islands; and which, with the harbours and seaports, and the numerous fleets lying within them, must have afforded altogether a spectacle scarcely to be equalled in the world, and must have excited in the stranger who visited them, the highest idea of the opulence, the power, and the enterprising spirit of the inhabitants.

Although these cities existed altogether in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, history has given us some account of the manner and time of their successive foundations. They were colonies of

[5] The Arvath of the Hebrews. The authorities for this and the next remark, will be found in CELLAR. *Geogr. Ant.* ii. p. 350, 374, etc.

one another; and, like all other colonies of the ancient world, were founded either for purposes of trade, or by bodies of citizens who left their native abode in consequence of civil dissensions. The oldest of them, "the first-born son of Canaan," according to the Mosaic record[6], was Sidon, the foundress of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians. Sidon was the parent of Tyre. In the first place, merely as a staple for her own wares; but the daughter soon waxed greater than the mother, and successfully rivalled her. In the blooming period of Phœnicia, Sidon was only the second Phœnician city in point of extent, though still rich and mighty, and secured in a great measure by her excellent harbours, from ruin and decline, so long as the maritime commerce of the Phœnicians should endure[7]. Arvath was founded by another colony from Sidon, and owed its origin to a civil broil in this city, which drove the discontented party to seek a new abode[8]. Tripolis, as its name imports, was a common colony of the three cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus[9].

The eldest Tyre, founded by Sidon, and situated on the main land, continued a powerful, rich, and flourishing commercial city till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian-Chaldean conqueror; against whom it had to defend

[6] GEN. x. 15. cf. BOCHART et MICHAELIS ad. h. l.
[7] STRAB. p. 1097.
[8] STRAB. p. 1093.
[9] STRAB. p. 1094.

itself during a siege or blockade of thirteen years[1]; but that he in reality ever took or destroyed it, as is commonly asserted, there is no historical proof[2]. During this blockade, the greater part of the inhabitants took refuge upon a neighbouring island, already furnished with numerous establishments and buildings[3], and thus founded the island city of Tyre, which, favoured by its strong position, soon equalled the parent city, and not only out-lived the Babylonian and Persian empires, but continued to increase as the ancient Tyre declined. It was finally captured by Alexander, after an obstinate resistance; but he robbed it less of its ancient opulence and splendour by his arms, than by the foundation of Alexandria, which henceforth became the great seat of the commerce of the world, though Tyre did not altogether decline. In the midst of this city stood the temple of the principal deity of the Tyrians, the protecting god of the city, as its

[1] About the year B. C. 600.

[2] See GESENIUS, *Commentar zum Jesaias*, i. p. 710. The capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar is confirmed by no Phœnician or Greek writer; it rests upon the prophecy of Ezekiel alone, c. xxvi; but a later oracle of the same prophet, xxix. 18, shews that the attempt to subdue it failed. The total silence of historians upon this subject is expressly referred to by HIERONYMUS, *ad Ezech.* xxvi. 7, who rests the capture entirely upon the authority of the oracle; as do all later writers.

[3] It is a false assumption to say, that the island city of Tyre had its first rise about this time. The island afforded more security than the continent, and it will be presently shewn, that it was a usual custom of the Phœnicians to settle upon islands. That the island city was much older is clear from JOSEPHUS, *Opera*, p. 325, for Psalmanasser had already besieged it about B. C. 730, at which time the Ancient Tyre, with the other cities, shook off her yoke: it must therefore at that time have been the chief city.

name, Melcarth[4], signifies. This deity was called by the Greeks the Tyrian Hercules, though entirely different[5] from their god bearing the same name; hence the mythi of the two are often confounded. The worship of the Tyrian deity was introduced into the most distant parts of the world to which that people penetrated and founded settlements; he was honoured as the national god by the independent colonies of Tyre, who were wont to acknowledge his supremacy by solemn embassies[6]. The city was pro-

[4] Melcarth, *the city king*. For further information, see the learned work of CREUZER, *Symbolik*, ii. 211, etc. second edition.

[5] Herodotus ii. 44. Although this author very properly notices this difference, yet the passage here quoted seems to imply, that this deity was called Hercules by the Tyrians themselves. But it was doubtless out of complaisance to the Greeks, that the Phœnician priests in addressing them thus named him; for his native appellation was, in all likelihood, very different. According to the accounts given by the Phœnician priests to Herodotus, 2300 years had already elapsed, since the foundation of the city of Tyre, and that of the temple, which took place at the same time, (about the year 2740 B. C.). This ancient temple, however, had long before been destroyed to give place to the new one constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon, (JOSEPH. *contra Apion.*, *Op.* p. 1043). It was this new temple, which stood upon the island Tyre, that Herodotus saw, about 550 years later: now, as we learn from the passage of Josephus, quoted from Menander, that Hiram took down the ancient temples of Melcarth and Astarte and built new ones; that he encompassed the great square of the city, (*χώσας τὸν εὐρυχώρον*), and compelled the Tyrians to pay him the disputed tribute; we cannot well be mistaken in regarding him as the original founder of the island city of Tyre, and as having, in opposition to the wishes of the inhabitants of the ancient Tyre, made it the capital. This is expressly confirmed by another passage in JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* viii. 3, 5. p. 259, 267, where it is said of Hiram, that he dwelt on an island. However this may have been, there is here a clear proof, that it was altogether in the spirit of antiquity to connect the foundation of cities with that of temples and sanctuaries; an observation more fully developed in my *Researches on Egypt.*

[6] An example of this is given by the Carthaginians, who sent an embassy at the moment that Tyre was besieged by Alexander. ARRIAN ii.

tected by high walls of cut stone; and had two harbours, one on the north towards Sidon, the other on the south towards Egypt. The mouth of the latter could be closed by immense chains[7].

Let us now enquire what was the internal government of these cities? What their relations with each other? Whether they formed one general confederation? or whether they remained, entirely separate states, without any common tie? These questions demand our serious attention.

The remarks above made upon the nature of the country readily explain why the Phœnicians could never become a conquering nation, and the founders of a great monarchy, such as that of the Chaldeans, the Persians, and others. They must have been well satisfied, if they could protect their little territory from the invasions of such powerful Asiatic conquerors; and being from the earliest times downwards, a people dwelling in cities[8], they could have had no idea of taking the long marauding expeditions common to nomad nations.

In order to obtain a correct idea of the political state of Phœnicia, it is necessary to have a general notion of the rise and progress of civil government among the Syrian tribes. As far as the light of history carries us back,

24. Temples of the Tyrian Hercules were found in Gades, and upon the island of Thasos. HEROD. l. c.

[7] ARRIAN ii. 24.

[8] They appear as such in the early times of Moses and Joshua, upon the invasion of the Israelites.

we every where find a number of single cities, with the territory around them, under a monarchical form of government; the sovereign power being placed in the hands of kings or princes. Examples certainly are to be met with, where some of these cities and their monarchs obtained a decided preponderance, (Damascus is at once an instance,) and assumed to themselves a degree of authority. This, however, was a kind of forced alliance, which extended no further than the exaction of tribute and subsidies in times of war, without depriving the subjected cities of their government and rulers[9]. Syria, while independent and left to itself, never became organized into one state, or one monarchy.

Here then we trace the ground-work of the Phœnician government. This country, like Syria, never became one state; but from the earliest period down to the Persian monarchy, was always divided into a number of separate cities, each with its little territory around it. Some writers have stated positively the precise extent of the dominions of each city. Thus Antaradus, and the territory about it, formed part of the domain of Aradus, to which it lay opposite[1]; thus Sarephta came within the dominion of Sidon[2]; etc.

[9] Proofs of it may be found in the Jewish accounts of the kings of Damascus, and their wars: Compare 1 KINGS xx. 1, etc.

[1] STRABO, p. 1093. ARRIAN ii. 13.

[2] 1 KINGS xvii. 9. 10.

Allied cities, however, were certainly frequent in Phœnicia; indeed it seems very probable, that at certain times, all the cities of Phœnicia formed one confederation, at the head of which stood originally Sidon, and afterwards Tyre. Even as early as the Mosaic period, alliances among these cities were common[3]; the necessity of their common defence from foreign attack, which separately they were too weak to withstand, must naturally have led to this system. Neither were these confederations confined to Phœnicia alone; they prevailed also in the countries colonized by the Phœnicians; and Carthage in Africa, as well as Gades in Spain, stood at the head of the settlements in these districts, without however obtaining a complete authority over them[4]. A common religion, the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, the national and colonial deity, formed likewise a bond of union for all these cities, both of the mother country and the colonies, and strengthened and preserved the connexion between them.

It is the nature, however, of all such confederations, to be liable to frequent changes; they vary indeed according to the political interests, and even the power and views of the separate states. Many changes of this kind must have arisen in this quarter, by the foundation and growing prosperity of the inland colonies; and many modifications must have taken place as

[3] JOSHUA ii. 1—5.

[4] See *Researches on the Carthaginians.*

these acquired sufficient strength to assume a kind of independence of the parent states. In the present case, in which we shall confine our observations to the flourishing period of Tyre,—that is, the period from Solomon to Cyrus, or at least Nebuchadnezzar,—it will be sufficient to shew that Tyre, in the sense just stated, was always the dominant city of Phœnicia.

This may be inferred, in the first place, from the description given of Tyre by the prophet Ezekiel. Sidon and Arvath were at this time her allies, and supplied their contingents of soldiers and sailors[5]. This being proved of the largest and most distant city of Phœnicia, no doubt can be well entertained respecting the smaller and nearer.

Besides, the subjects and allies of Tyre, and their revolts against the capital, are more than once expressly spoken of in history. The most striking proof of this is preserved in Josephus, from the works of Menander. For when king Salmanasser undertook his expedition into Western Asia and against Phœnicia, the allied cities, Sidon, Old Tyre, Acre, and many others, revolted against the Tyrians, and submitted to the king of Assyria. They went so far indeed as to fit out a fleet against them, which was defeated by the Tyrians, who thus secured themselves from further danger[6].

[5] EZEKIEL xxvii. 8, 11.

[6] JOSEPH. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14. *Op.* p. 306. This also explains the resist-

By comparing these fragments of Phœnician history and its government with the accounts that are left us respecting the state of Carthage, we obtain something more than bare historical conjecture, as we find a striking similarity between the government of the mother country and the colonies. What Tyre was towards Sidon, Arvath, Tripolis, etc., Carthage was towards Utica, Leptis, Adrumetum, and other cities. It not only seems quite natural, that in cities inhabited by one people, and so frequently called upon to struggle against their common and powerful enemies, alliances should be formed, and by alliances a kind of authority be conceded to the mightiest; but it is also consonant with the whole tenor of ancient history, that colonies should adopt the government of the mother state.

"It may be concluded then from these facts, that the Phœnician cities formed together one confederation: at the head of which, in the period of their greatest splendour and perfect independence, stood Tyre. At the time of their subjection to Assyria and Persia, the bond that connected them necessarily became loosened, the other cities paid their tribute and furnished their contingents to Persia instead of to Tyre; the latter however still preserved its rank, and

ance which Tyre always made against the most famous conquerors, even Alexander himself, when the other Phœnician cities voluntarily submitted. The latter were oppressed while Tyre ruled.

was always considered the chief city of the land.

The second question, namely, *What was the internal government of the Phœnician cities?* is equally difficult and obscure.

However desirable it may be to trace out accurately the gradual rise and progress of civic government in these, the earliest commercial cities, want of information limits us to a few general observations.

First, then, there can be no doubt but that each Phœnician city had its own proper government, and that in this respect they were perfectly independent of each other. They always appear so, as the following pages will evince, upon every occasion, and in every period of their history: being never spoken of but as separate states.

Secondly. It seems equally certain, that the chief authority was placed in the hands of kings, and certainly of hereditary kings, although political parties many times fomented revolutions by which new families were raised to the throne. This is especially shewn by the history of Tyre; a catalogue of whose kings is extant in Josephus, from the time of Hiram, the contemporary of David, till the siege of the city by Nebuchadnezzar[7]. Even under the dominion of the Persians, the royal dignity was preserved; though the monarchs were now only tributary

[7] JOSEPHUS *contra Apion.* i. *Op.* p. 1043.

princes, obliged to furnish money and ships to the Persians, and to attend them, when required, in their military expeditions. The kings of Tyre appear in this state in the expedition of the Persians against Athens[8], and even as late as the overthrow of Persia and the capture of Tyre by Alexander[9]. As Tyre had its proper kings, so also had the other Phœnician cities, Sidon, Aradus, and Byblus[1]. These are mentioned in various periods, and even as late as the Macedonian conquest.

Thirdly. Notwithstanding the existence of the royal dignity, the government was certainly not despotic; nay, the monarchical power was so strictly limited as to render it almost republican. It was indeed well-nigh impossible that despotism could have endured for so many centuries in commercial states, which can only thrive in the atmosphere of political liberty. A large maritime commerce requires a spirit of enterprize and resolute activity altogether incompatible with despotic government. Even the repeated political changes which took place in all these cities, and more particularly in Tyre; as well as the continual departure of colonies and their settlement in distant parts of the world; are circum-

[8] HERODOTUS viii. 67. The kings of Sidon and Tyre formed part of Xerxes' council of war; the former taking precedence of the latter, at the command of Xerxes. Was this merely personal? or according to the rank of the cities, among whom Sidon, as the parent city, stood at the head?

[9] ARRIAN ii. 24.

[1] ARRIAN ii. 20.

stances which not only could not have been brought forth by despotism, but are the legitimate offspring of free nations. Many particulars which warrant this conclusion may still be found in Phœnician history, notwithstanding the general scantiness of its information.

Next to the kings stood the Phœnician magistrates[2]. These conjointly sent ambassadors[3]. Indeed, at certain periods, a general congress of the great Phœnician cities was wont to be held, when the kings in council with the synedrims, deliberated upon the common affairs of the confederacy[4]. Tripolis was the place destined for the common assembly of the three principal cities.

Besides this, there is no question but the authority of the monarchs was very essentially limited by religion. The priests in these states formed a numerous and powerful class, and seem to have stood next in rank to the kings. Sicharbas, or Sichæus, the chief priest of the principal temple, was the husband of Dido, and brother-in-law to king Pygmalion. His persecution and death by the latter, gave rise to those serious commotions which ended in the emigration of that numerous colony which founded the city

[2] ARRIAN ii. 24, who calls them τοὺς ἐν τέλει.

[3] ARRIAN ii. 15.

[4] DIOD. ii. p. 113. As when a council was held respecting the revolt from the Persians. Even the very circumstance that some of the Tyrian kings, as for example Pygmalion, were named tyrants, seems to prove that they should not all be considered such. There is mention, too, of a time when the kingly dignity was entirely banished from Tyre, and its place supplied by that of suffetes. This was after the ineffectual siege of Nebuchadnezzar. JOSEPH. *Op.* 1046.

of Carthage. The political influence of the Phœnician priests of Baal among the Jews, which caused a revolution in the state, is sufficiently well known[5]. Among a people like the Phœnicians, where every thing so much depended on sanctuaries and religion, the priesthood could scarcely fail to have a large share in the government, though we are not in a situation to determine precisely its extent.

The prophet Ezekiel, in his prophecy against the king of Tyre, gives us a somewhat deep insight into the power of the prince of that city. He pictures him as a powerful prince, living in great splendour; but still as the prince of a commercial city, which by its trade filled his treasury. As a prince encouraging and protecting commerce by his wisdom and policy; but which, in the end, degenerating to craft and injustice, he is threatened with the punishment of his misdeeds. "With thy wisdom and with thy understanding," he cries out, "hast thou gotten thee riches; with gold and silver hast thou filled thy treasury by means of the greatness of thy commerce. Full of wisdom sealedst thou great sums; thou dwelt in a garden of God, ornamented from thine infancy with precious stones, clothed with fine garments. But traffic has enriched thee with ill-gotten wealth, and thou hast sinned[6]."

[5] How numerous they were appears from 1 KINGS xviii. 22.

[6] EZEKIEL xxviii. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16. Conf. MICHAELIS'S *Translation and Remarks.* Among the precious stones (verse 13) nine sorts are mentioned by name, as the onyx, carbuncle, topaz, diamond, emerald, etc.; a proof of the high pitch to which the luxury of the great of Tyre was carried in this particular.

From this remarkable passage it may at least be gathered, that the revenue of the Tyrian kings, and without doubt that of the princes of the other cities also, was derived from commerce; but whether from the customs, or, which seems more probable, from a monopoly of some of the branches of trade, or from both, cannot be decided.

These few observations contain the sum of what information is left us concerning the internal government of these mighty cities; and even of these few, some are only conjectures. We are rather better instructed respecting their foreign relations and colonies, and these we shall now proceed to investigate.

CHAPTER II.

Colonies and foreign possessions of the Phœnicians.

ARISE, O THOU DAUGHTER OF SIDON, TAKE THY FLIGHT TO THE ISLES OF CHITTIM. ISAIAH xxiii. 12.

ONE of the most interesting spectacles which history affords us, is the spread of nations by peaceable colonization. Despotic empires, which are only enlarged by conquest, exhibit to us no picture of this kind: the forcible transplanting of nations, a custom common to them, could never become the foundation of flourishing colonies, attended, as they at all times are, by oppression, and often by the dispersion of the captives carried away. If we look into these colonies, they will generally be found of a military cast, and intended rather, as in the Macedonian, Roman, and Russian monarchies, to guard the provinces of the empire, than for the cultivation of the land. Commercial nations, on the contrary, especially when under the auspices of civil liberty, extend their navigation to distant regions;—Phœnicians and Greeks, not less than the British and Dutch,

soon discover the necessity for foreign settlements; and notwithstanding all the abuses to which they are liable, abuses which the historian cannot mistake, it is still undeniable, that not only their own civilization, but in a great measure, the civilization of the whole human race, depend very much upon these peaceful means of advancement. The continual intercourse with their colonies enlivens and extends the knowledge of the mother states; and besides this, it infallibly promotes the developement of political ideas, and what is founded upon it, the perfecting of civil government. The portion of the people separated from the parent country undergo some change in every new settlement, as the difference in the nature of the country, and favourable or unfavourable circumstances necessarily give a new direction to the mind. In such cases, where society in a manner sets out anew, many improvements are easily and necessarily made, which could scarcely be adopted where everything is become fixed and settled; and though it generally happens that colonies copy, in the first place, the government of the mother state, yet the difference of their foreign relations, and the enlarged sphere of action which their necessities open to them, soon lead them to different views. It is from the bosom of colonies that civil liberty nearly in all ages has set forth: Greece had no Solon till the colonies of Asia Minor had attained their highest degree of splendour; and while the parent country could only boast of a single legislator, whose object was to

form citizens, and not merely warriors, nearly every colony of Greece and Sicily possessed its Zaleucus or Charondas. In this way, indeed, every commercial state may be said to live again in the colonies it has founded. And thus, amid the rise and fall of empires, the advances of man in civilization, in all its multitudinous forms, is perpetuated and secured. Tyre and Sidon yielded to their fate, but they had the happiness before their fall, to see flourishing around them, in their hundreds of colonies, a numerous progeny. And though Europe should again experience the dreadful misfortune to sink under the yoke of despotism or anarchy, into the gloomy horrors of barbarism, Providence has provided for its rebirth, by scattering the seeds of its civilization over every part of the globe; exhibiting in our days the astonishing spectacle, never before displayed, of ripened civilization in one part, while in others it is yet in blossom, or only pushing forth its earliest buds.

To counterbalance these great benefits, the system of colonization has in every age been attended with disadvantages equally striking. It leads to thirst of conquest and commercial jealousy; and, unfortunately, has it not too often been the fate of nations founding colonies, to sicken of this double malady, and perish under its influence.

Thirst of conquest seems above all to be opposed to the interests of commercial states. Friendship and peace with the nations with whom they have dealings, would appear the most likely

means of keeping their ports open, and of obtaining commodities with which to freight their vessels. But unfortunately it has never been thus; in ancient as in modern times, subjection has been the cry of the strongest, and with this upon their lips, the Carthaginians subjugated Spain; the Spaniards, America; and the British, India.

It cannot be denied, but that in numerous instances, the blind desire of aggrandizement, or even plunder, has been the object of these conquests; but quite as often, perhaps oftener, this desire of conquest sprung out of the peaceable system of spreading the human race by colonies. In trading with distant countries, and especially with rude, uncivilized nations, these kind of settlements are indispensible to the carrying on a secure and regular commerce; but even these are almost sure to give rise to disputes, by the aggressions of one party or the other; little bickerings grow into violent disputes; these lead to open war, which only ends with the subjugation of the natives, or the destruction of the colonies.

The extent to which commercial jealousy was carried at a very early period, is shewn in my Researches upon the Commerce of the Carthaginians; the Carthaginians inherited it from their ancestors, who, even in the time of Herodotus, threw all the mystery they could over their distant navigation. This rivalry led to wars whenever powerful competitors started up, such as the Carthaginians found in the Greeks. The Phœnicians, on the contrary, had the good

fortune to enjoy the sea trade of the Mediterranean for centuries, without any powerful competitor. As the Greeks of Asia Minor began to acquire importance, these ancient merchants seemed rather inclined to shun, than contend with them; and they came less frequently in contact, as their principal maritime commerce lay in different regions.

So far therefore as we may judge from the information before us, the Phœnicians appear to have been less entangled in commercial wars than their descendants the Carthaginians, or the British and Dutch of modern times. Yet, that they did not keep entirely clear of war and conquest, though their circumscribed territory, fortunately for them, rendered it impossible for them to think of making large conquests;—that they had the will, though not the means, may be gleaned from numerous particulars scattered in their history. For though the extent of their population did not allow of their raising large armies from among themselves, they very early adopted the system of carrying on their wars by means of hired troops: a system to which all commercial states have had, and always must have, recourse in their continental wars,—and one which their colonists, the Carthaginians, carried on to a much wider extent. It is not merely the relatively small number of idle and useless men, nor the facility of procuring the means of subsistence which prevents the formation of powerful armies in such states; we must also take into

account the little consideration in which soldiers are held in countries where the merchant is everything, and especially in republics, where the hired soldier is regarded as the paid servant of the citizens.

In much the same manner, therefore, that Carthage hired troops from almost every part of Africa and Europe, did Tyre hire them from the countries of Minor and Upper Asia. The other Phœnician states also furnished their contingents, both of land and marine forces. From these states were taken the garrison of Tyre itself, to which was confided the care and security of the city. "They of Persia, of Lydia, and of Lycia were thy warriors; they hanged their shields and helmet in thee; they of Arvad were in thine army about thy walls, and kept watch before thy gates; they hanged their shields upon thy towers, and have thus made thee illustrious[7]." It is probable, however, that foreign mercenaries were only employed upon extraordinary occasions, when these states were engaged in foreign wars.

It has already been remarked, that the situation of Phœnicia rendered it impossible for its inhabitants to extend their territory in Asia by conquest; but a wide range was open to them in the neighbouring isles of the Mediterranean; and of all these none seems to have had greater attractions for them than the nearest and largest—the isle of Cyprus[8]. It is not only certain that

[7] EZEKIEL xxvii. 10, 11.

[8] JOSEPH. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14. cf. MICHAEL. *Spicil.* i. p. 106.

the Tyrians established themselves in this island, but also that they made it one of their provinces; for the Cyprians rebelled against Tyre with its other subjects, when Salmanasser invaded Syria. The city of Cittium was the principal settlement of the Tyrians upon this island, which they named after this city[9], as they did also the smaller islands of the Archipelago and the coasts; they still however had colonits in the other cities of the island[1]. Even afterwards, when Tyre had lost all dominion over her, Cyprus and Tyre stood in the closest alliance; and this is particularly visible in the time of Alexander, who regarded the subjugation of Cyprus, with its nine cities and their nine monarchs or chiefs, as a natural and inevitable consequence of the capture of Tyre[2].

It is even more difficult to point out the exact relations which the Phœnicians maintained with their other colonies than it is with Cyprus. Nevertheless the fragments of their history, considered together, afford us several particulars, strikingly characteristic of the genius and policy of that people.

[9] There can be no doubt that כִּתִּים (Kittim) is identical with Cittium; and that it signified not only the whole island, but also the neighbouring islands and coasts, is clear from JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* i. 7. *Op.* p. 13. We learn further from CICERO, *De Fin.* iv. 20, that Cittium was a Phœnician, and not a Greek colony. See GESENIUS, *Commentar zum Jesaias*, i. p. 721, etc.

[1] The authorities will be found collected in BOCHART, p. 370, etc. cf. STRABO. p. 1003. Vestiges of the Phœnician settlements upon this island still exist; one, for example, in the Phœnician epitaph discovered by M. V. HAMMER, *Topograph. Ansichten in der Levante*, p. 154.

[2] ARRIAN. ii. 17.

First, The system of extending themselves by colonization was very clearly a natural consequence of their trade, which absolutely required such settlements. But besides this, their history proves that they considered it as the surest and most convenient method of preventing disturbances and revolutions at home, which would naturally result from the disproportionate increase of population in so small, and yet so commercial a country [3]. An overgrown population is commonly the curse of large trading cities; and it is this evil in particular which renders violent revolutions so dreadful; hence its increase is necessarily dangerous, and should be guarded against. The republican states of the ancient world soon became acquainted with this evil; and the most natural remedy which presented itself to them, was to lessen the number of the people by colonization. The following up of this system, and the want of foreign settlements for the purposes of trade, would at once satisfactorily account for the astonishing spread of this nation by colonies, even if their history did not shew that internal commotions, notwithstanding this precaution, were the occasion of new emigrations, by forcing the weaker and discontented party to leave their country

[3] It will be seen in the part of this work relating to the Carthaginians, that this was likewise a prevailing maxim among that people; and when the great resemblance of the colonial system of the two nations is considered, no doubt can be entertained of the Carthaginians having inherited it from the Phœnicians. But this reason is expressly stated as the cause of the foundation of Utica. JUSTIN. xviii. 4.

and seek a foreign abode; an example of which occurs in the history of the foundation of Carthage.

Secondly. The direction of Phœnician colonization, was from east to west along the shores of the Mediterranean. Their sea trade, from the situation of their country, could proceed in no other; and we are led by the remains of early traditions, which have been preserved from the ancient history of this people, to conclude, that this was the route pursued. For what else was that Tyrian Hercules of whose expedition to Iberia, to make war upon the son of Chrysaor, the rich-in-gold, we have an account, if not the tutelary god, first of the mother city; then of the colonies also; and thus generally the *symbol* of the Phœnician race? And the history of his expeditions along the coasts of the Mediterranean, what is it, if not an allegorical relation of the outspread of the people by trade and navigation, and of the general civilization which resulted therefrom?

All these traditions are handed down to us through Greek poets and mythologists, and have been changed by them in various ways, and even confounded with others, in order to fit in and form part of their epic poems and narrations. But notwithstanding this, the pure mythos seems to have been preserved to us almost in its original shape by Diodorus[4].

[4] The passage of Diodorus will be found in his works, i. p. 262, etc. The expedition of Hercules into Spain is there given as the tenth of his

The attempt to clear up and explain every particular of this fable would be doing violence to the manes of remote antiquity. Some of the principal features of this allegory I shall, nevertheless, venture to expose, fearless of incurring this reproach.

Hercules is said to have undertaken his expedition with a numerous fleet, which assembled at Crete; an island forming, as will presently be seen, one of the principal links of the Phœnician chain of colonies. Its object was Spain, the country abounding in gold, and where Chrysaor, the father of Geryon reigned. Hercules passed through Africa, where he introduced agriculture, and built the great city of Hecatompylos[5]. He thus came to the strait, which he crossed over to Gades. Spain submitted to him, and he carried away the oxen of Geryon as booty; taking his way back through Gaul, Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia.

The principal features of this allegory seem scarcely to require an explanation. It is only

labours; the whole narrative of Diodorus, however, if not immediately taken from Timæus, is evidently borrowed from a Greek epic poet, who had transferred the Phœnician tradition of the Tyrian Hercules to the Greek deity of the same name, with only such alterations as were necessary to the plot of his poem. This opinion obtains no small confirmation from what DIODORUS, *Op.* i. p. 344, relates of the inhabitants of the Balearic islands, among whom a tradition prevailed, that Hercules had conquered the country of Geryon on account of its treasures in silver and gold; they therefore forbade the introduction of these metals into their islands, that they might not excite the cupidity of conquerors. They therefore explained the mythos in this way, being themselves of Phœnician origin.

[5] Hecatompylos was a large city in the interior of the Carthaginian dominions, which was afterwards conquered by them. DIODOR. i. p. 265.

among a maritime people that this mythos could have been formed, as a fleet is fitted out for the undertaking. That this took place at Crete, the most convenient island, shews that the party did not extend their views toward the western Mediterranean, until they had well established their dominion over the eastern islands. Neither did they undertake these expeditions for the mere purpose of destruction and conquest. They carried civilization with them; they instructed the barbarians in the art of agriculture, and accustomed them to fixed dwellings. And where did this take place?—Precisely in those countries which were colonized by the Phœnicians; that is, in Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. But the express object of this expedition was, that very land which was the main source of Phœnician wealth, and the principal seat of its trade; namely, the southern and western parts of Spain. Thus the traditions, as they have been handed down to us by the poets, are in accordance with the historical facts. The Phœnicians gradually spread themselves round the coasts of the Mediterranean. They came at last to the pillars of Hercules, and even went beyond them. But in every part their colonies were confined to the sea coast; and hence it may fairly be concluded, that they owed their foundation to commerce.

Thirdly. These colonial cities were spread in a very unequal manner along the coasts of the Mediterranean, being in some districts crowded and numerous, while in other parts there were

but few or none. Like the English and Dutch, the Phœnicians had their colonial dominions, which of course were precisely those which they made the principal seats of their trade. To these more especially belonged the territory of Carthage, on the northern coast of Africa, and the southern and western parts of Spain. Their settlements were more rare on the great islands of the western Mediterranean, Sicily and Sardinia, which they seem to have regarded only as stations for their more distant navigation, and which therefore were the same to them in their voyages to Gades and the pillars of Hercules, as is the Cape of Good Hope to our modern navigators in their way to India.

Fourthly. Commercial jealousy, though they avoided as much as possible all collision, arose out of the colonial system of the Phœnicians. The Greeks were the first nation with whom they came in contact; and this must have happened as soon as that people became powerful on the Mediterranean. Yet a comparison of the situation of the Greek and Phœnician colonies would almost lead one to conclude, that a tacit agreement had existed between the two nations, to keep as much as possible out of each other's way.

They ceded voluntarily, as it were, to the Greeks many countries which in high antiquity they seem to have colonized. They left to them the coasts of Asia Minor and the Black Sea; they abandoned to them Southern Italy and the greatest part of the Sicilian coast; and they

scarcely interfered with them on the shores of Gaul. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that they would suffer no Greek settlement in *their* colonial dominions, where in general they would not endure foreigners. The stories respecting their sacrificing strangers to their gods, seem, supposing them fables, to have been imagined and spread abroad, for the purpose of keeping foreigners from their settlements.

Fifthly. It seems natural to suppose that a close connexion must always have been kept up between colonies, indebted to commerce for their origin with the parent state; indeed a kind of dependence upon the latter. But the great and difficult art of keeping their colonies in subjection, so well understood by their descendants, the Carthaginians, seems never to have been known in an equal degree by the Phœnicians. Their colonies, favoured by their fortunate situation, grew beyond their management, and soon became independent, if they were not so from the first. It requires but little reflection to account for this. The Phœnicians, like many of the commercial nations who have come after them, extended their dominion beyond what their power would suffice to maintain in authority. To this, it may be added, that Tyre was not situated like Carthage in the centre of her colonies; consequently, though she might have been able to raise armies equally numerous, yet she could not so easily make them effective. Carthage, almost without effort, could transport her armies

to Sicily and Sardinia; Britain in the present day can send out forces to India; but if Tyre had made the attempt to carry an Asiatic army to Spain, it is probable she would have failed. If we except therefore the neighbouring island of Cyprus and others, and a few of the most important, at a greater distance, especially the settlements containing mines worked by the natives, it will be found, that the relations of Tyre with her colonies were limited to the ties of commerce, and the obligations imposed by their mutual piety: the latter were never neglected; the former were most carefully preserved; and religion furnished a strong band, which knit the whole together. This band was the common worship of the national gods by common feasts and sacrifices, at which ambassadors, sent expressly by the different cities, joined and assisted. Was not this policy, though generated, as perhaps it was, by circumstances, the wisest, best, and most rational, which the Phœnicians, in their situation, could follow? They gave up nothing by so doing, but what after a great expence of blood and treasure they would have been compelled to relinquish. The ports of their colonies were open to them; and they enjoyed for centuries all the valuable blessings which a peaceable and undisturbed commerce is wont to bestow.

Sixthly. The period at which the Phœnician colonies were founded can only be determined in a general manner. That of the building of Carthage is still uncertain. There can how-

ever be no doubt, that the establishment of some of the settlements, beyond the sea, took place in the deepest antiquity. Should even the early foundation of Tartessus and Gades be doubted, there can be no question respecting the migration of Cadmus to Bœotia, and the building of Thebes; facts which prove, that 1500 years before the Christian era, Phœnician colonies had crossed the seas. The foundation of most of them, however, certainly took place in the flourishing period of Phœnicia, during which the trade and navigation of Tyre made such wonderful advances; that is, from the reign of David to that of Cyrus, (1000—550, B.C). During this time, according to the best evidence of antiquity, Utica, Carthage, Leptis[6], etc. were founded; a statement which is further confirmed by the fact, that the greater part of the Phœnician colonies are expressly called colonies of Tyre. Now this city did not acquire much celebrity till about this time, nor till after the period of Homer, who seems not to have been acquainted with it, though he often speaks of Sidon.

I shall now leave these general preliminary observations, and entering rather more into particulars, take a closer view of the Phœnician colonies[7]. It is only by this that an adequate idea of the importance of this nation in the history of the world can be obtained; it will also

[6] See the proofs in BOCHART, p. 373, etc.

[7] In order that he may understand properly the following survey, I must beg of the reader to have continually before him a map of the Mediterranean and the surrounding countries; D'Anville's, if possible.

pave the way to the inquiry respecting their commerce. I shall not here follow the example of Bochart, who has founded his opinions chiefly upon etymologies; but shall take for my guide only the positive evidence which history furnishes.

The islands of the Mediterranean nearest to Phœnicia, as well Cyprus and Crete, as the smaller ones of the Archipelago, the Sporides and the Cyclades; and again, those towards the north, as far as the Hellespont, almost without exception were colonized by Phœnicians. The cities in the isle of Cyprus, according to the testimony of one of the most credible writers, were nearly all of Phœnician origin[8]; it has already been remarked, that the whole island seems to have been reduced to a Phœnician province; and it must have been of the highest importance to that nation, from its supplying them in abundance with all the materials for ship building. Traces of the Phœnicians in Crete are preserved in the mythology of the island; here also the worship of Hercules was naturalised; and the fable of Europa, of which it was the scene, was certainly of Phœnician origin[9]. The cities of the isle of Rhodes, Jalyssus, Camirus, and Lindus[1], (Rhodes itself was not built till a later period,) followed

[8] DIOD. ii. p. 114.

[9] APOLLOD. iii. 1. If, as HOECK has rendered probable, (*Creta*, p. 83, etc.) Europa, in the most ancient Phœnician mythos, is to be understood, not as signifying a part of the world, but the Phœnician deity Astarte, whose worship was spread with the Phœnician colonies, this will evidently confirm the interpretation given above of the mythos of the expedition of Hercules.

[1] DIOD. i. p. 377.

the Phœnician worship; and the vestiges of it in the lesser islands of the Archipelago will be found carefully collected in Bochart[2]. This nation also had a considerable establishment in the island of Thasos, on the Thracian coast. They found out in one of their voyages of discovery, that the mountains of this island abounded in gold; this magnet soon attracted them, and they here founded mines—works of which Herodotus saw the shafts and galleries[3].

Traces also of the Phœnicians are found on the west, and even on the northern coast of Asia Minor. They are said to have founded the cities of Pronectus and Bithynium on the Black Sea and the Propontis[4]; and in the mountains of Pisidia and Caria still dwelt a nation, or rather the remnant of a nation, the Solymes, whose language betrays their Phœnician descent[5].

The Phœnicians however were driven out of all these countries and islands, as the Carian race, and still more so, the Hellenic, spreading out of Greece, filled with their colonies not only the islands, but also the coast of Asia Minor. There is no account of the Phœnicians engaging in any hostilities with the Greeks for the possession of these countries, probably because the principal direction of their sea trade lay in other regions, which they considered more

[2] BOCHART, p. 406, etc.

[3] HEROD. ii. 44, et vi. 47.

[4] STEPH. de urb. h. v.

[5] Γλῶσσαν μὲν φοίνισσαν ἀπὸ στομάτων ἀφιέντες. JOSEPH. *in Apion.* i. *ex Choerilo Tragico*, p. 1047.

productive and more important. Perhaps indeed it was their expulsion from these islands which turned their attention to those in the western Mediterranean.

They could have no colonies on the Egyptian coast, because it was a fundamental maxim of the Egyptians to suffer no vessels, either of their own or of foreigners, to enter the mouths of the Nile. To make up for this, however, they had a large settlement in the capital of Egypt itself; one entire quarter of Memphis being inhabited by Phœnicians[6]: a very evident proof that they carried on, by the inhabitants of that quarter of the world, a part in the primitive caravan trade of Eastern Africa.

Perhaps the same cause which led them to retire from Asia Minor kept them out of Italy[7]; for however extraordinary it may appear, not the least trace is here to be found of any Phœnician settlement. Probably it was the Etruscans, rather than the Greeks, who prevented their establishing themselves in this country. On the other hand, they endeavoured with all their might to keep their footing in Sicily, the only place in which they came in direct contact with the Greeks, as declared rivals.

There is one difficulty which attends all modern researches respecting the colonies of the

[6] HEROD. ii. 112.

[7] How much the Carthaginians desired to establish themselves on the Italian coasts, and what efforts were made to prevent it, is shewn in the old commercial treaties between Carthage and Rome, which are given in the appendix to the African nations.

Phœnicians in Sicily, and other parts of the western Mediterranean; and that is, to distinguish between the proper Phœnicians and the Carthaginians, as the Greek writers very frequently designate the latter by the same name. But notwithstanding the mistrust to which this must always give rise, there are decisive proofs that the proper Phœnicians had established settlements in Sicily long before the rise of the Carthaginian power. "Long before the Greeks emigrated into Sicily," says Thucydides[8], the Phœnicians had occupied the coasts of that island, and the smaller ones in its neighbourhood; but when the Greeks began to frequent it, they retired to Motya, Soloes, and Panormus." Diodorus's account of the colonies which the proper Phœnicians successively founded[9], in proportion as their navigation and commerce increased, in Sicily, Sardinia, and the neighbouring islands, is still more conclusive.

When the Carthaginians began to wax great, and to appropriate to themselves the navigation of the western Mediterranean, they usually trod in the footsteps of the parent state, and inherited, as it were, their possessions and establishments, by sending new colonists into the old places which had fallen into decay. It may therefore very safely be affirmed, that just those very cities which became the most celebrated of Sicily, (as for example, Motya, Soloes, and Panormus,

[8] THUCYD. vi. 2.

[9] DIOD. i. p. 358.

together with the mountain city of Eryx, where the worship of Astarte, or Venus Erycina, continued a lasting monument of the Phœnicians[1],) were also among the most ancient Phœnician settlements.

Equally certain, but just as vague, are the accounts respecting their colonies in Sardinia. It was principally for the sake of their intercourse with Spain, that they were so desirous of securing here, as well as in Sicily, stations for their ships to touch at in their long voyages[2]. To the dominion of Sardinia, however, which their successors the Carthaginians obtained, they never, so far as we know, made the least pretension. It was enough for them to maintain themselves in the island; and they could not, like the Carthaginians, transport over numerous armies to subdue the inhabitants.

The Balearic islands lay just in their way, and could not remain unknown. Indeed, according to a direct statement of Diodorus, they were first occupied by the Phœnicians, one hundred and fifty years after the building of Carthage[3]. We know not upon what data this chronological statement is grounded; and it is impossible to determine from the words of this author, whether he is speaking of the proper Phœnicians or of the Carthaginians; but the first seems certainly the more probable, as well from the connexion in

[1] POLYB. i. 55. DIOD. i. p. 326.
[2] DIOD. i. p. 358.
[3] DIOD. i. p. 343.

which the passage stands, as from the respective situations of Tyre and Carthage at the time mentioned; Tyre being then by far the greater and more powerful trading city of the two, and was still in full possession of a maritime commerce with Spain.

We thus reach this most important peninsula; one of the chief colonial countries of the Phœnicians; the great object of their navigation; the principal seat of their commerce; and not a whit less important to them than Peru has been to modern Spain. The description of their trade with this rich province I shall reserve for the next section, and limit myself here to merely such geographical and historical observations as I think may be fairly deduced from the various accounts which have been handed down to us from antiquity.

First. There is, upon the whole, scarcely the least doubt respecting the part of Spain occupied by the principal settlements of the Phœnicians. All, or certainly the most part, were situated in the southern part of the present Andalusia, on both sides of the strait, from the mouths of the Anas, (Guadiana,) at both sides of the Guadalquiver, to the frontiers of Granada, and even Murcia. The aborigines dwelling in this district were the Turdetani; but this native tribe had so much intermingled with the Phœnicians, as to give rise along the coast to a mixed race, who were called the Bastuli[4].

[4] See CELLARIUS i. p. 65. MANNERT. i. §. 275.

Secondly. It seems certain then that it is in this district that must be sought the celebrated Tartessus, Carteia, Gades, as well as the pillars of Hercules; and here there is but little difficulty till we come to fix the particular situation of each. The embellishments of the poets, who made this distant region the scene of many of their fables, have so confused and distorted historical facts, that at last even the very historians themselves knew not upon what to rely. Respecting even the pillars of Hercules, the greatest diversity of opinions has been held; some have sought for them in the Atlantic ocean near Gades; others at Gibraltar; and others elsewhere[5]: scarcely a doubt, however, can now be entertained, but that the rocks of Calpe and Abyla, upon which Gibraltar and Ceuta now stand, gave rise to this appellation, and to the long string of fables which refer to them. The inquiry respecting Tartessus is beset with much greater difficulties: a river Tartessus, an island Tartessus, a place Tartessus, are spoken of, and have been sought for sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; and, lastly, we hear of a district Tartessus. This great diversity seems alone sufficient to instruct us respecting the idea we should attach to this name. As in ancient geography, all names applied to the furthermost countries of the earth are vague and uncertain; such is the case with this, and it would

[5] CELLAR. i. p. 72. MANNERT. i. §. 290.

therefore be useless to endeavour to determine the exact spot where Tartessus formerly stood. Among the oriental nations, who had heard nothing more from the mysterious Phœnicians than the name of this distant country, it was considered, in a general manner, as the furthermost place towards the west, without any one being able to give more accurate information respecting it; but in the commercial geography of the Phœnicians, by Tartessus was evidently understood, the whole of southern Spain, which had been subjected to their authority. It was consequently a very indefinite term, probably much the same as that of the West Indies among the moderns; and thus perhaps we have a river, an island, and a territory of this name, because that country comprised all these[6]. Now when the river Tartessus is spoken of, we understand it to be the Bætis, or Guadalquiver, which, by flowing into the sea in two streams, forms an island, where, from the usual commercial policy of the Phœnicians, it is highly probable that their first settlement was made; and it is for this reason that Strabo has placed here the city of Tartessus[7]. But as they extended their dominion, the name extended also; and thus arose a district of Tartessus, which increased to a considerable size. The name Tartessus was also applied to nearly

[6] STEPH. de urb. s. v. Ταρτησσὸς, et ibi interpret.

[7] STRAB. p. 221. He remarks soon after, that some had confounded it with Carteia.

all the colonial cities in the neighbourhood[8]. It seems therefore a fruitless hypothesis of Bochart's to adopt three Tartessuses; and still less can I adopt the opinion of a modern writer, who places Tartessus where Seville, the ancient Hispalis, now stands[9]; though I will not undertake to deny that Hispalis never bore the name of Tartessus. If there ever was a city Tartessus, it was certainly *one* of the most ancient, probably *the* most ancient of the Phœnician colonies; and it is scarcely conceivable that they should have founded this so deep in the country, and so far from the coast.

Next to Tartessus, the island city of Gades, or Gadeix, is most deserving attention. It was a ruling maxim of the Phœnicians, as well as of the Carthaginians, to choose islands at a short distance from the continent for their settlements; these proving the most secure staples for their wares. This custom they observed in Spain. At a very small distance from the coast, and beyond the pillars of Hercules, were situated two small islands in the Atlantic ocean[1]. The largest of these was about nine miles in circumference, and from its situation and state left them nothing to wish for. Here, on the most remote point of the known world, beyond which all was viewless, except the immeasurable waste of ocean, did

[8] CELLAR. i. p. 69.

[9] MANNERT. i. §. 295.

[1] STRAB. p. 257. The smaller island usually bore the name of Erythea. Pliny assures us that the ancient Gades was built upon this small island.

they fix their abode, and built upon the two islands one city, which became one of the most remarkable of the world; and which, favoured by its happy situation, has continued such, notwithstanding all the political and commercial revolutions that have taken place, up to the present day. This enterprize, so justly celebrated in their annals, was also sung by the poets; who make the islands of Gades and Erythea, where reigned the triple-bodied Geryon, the furthest point of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. To him indeed was dedicated the renowned temple, built at the northern extremity of the largest island, and which, even in the time of the Romans, was regarded as one of the most venerable monuments of antiquity[2].

A third city, equally remarkable, and whose name alone betrays its Phœnician origin, was Carteïa. It would be difficult to determine accurately its site; it may be regarded however as certain, that it stood in the neighbourhood of the present Gibraltar, probably near to Algiziras[3]. Its situation, too, led it to be called Calpe; at least there seems many reasons for believing, that the city so frequently mentioned under this name was no other than Carteïa.

Of the remaining cities, Malaca and Hispalis, the present Malaga and Seville, best deserve notice. The first derives its name from the excellent salt fish which it exported in large quan-

[2] DIOD. i. p. 345. STRAB. l. c.
[3] MANNERT. i. §. 287.

tities[4]; the other was built on the Guadalquiver, at the point to which the tide ran up, and where it was navigable for ships of considerable burthen[5].

These were the principal places; but besides these, the country was everywhere strewed over with Phœnician villages, and altogether, as it were, Phœnicianised. According to Strabo, there were here above two hundred places said to be of Phœnician origin[6]; and though even many may have been Carthaginian, yet they could only be few compared to the whole.

Thirdly. When it is remembered, that, even in the time of Homer, tin and amber were well-known articles of Phœnician commerce, there can be no doubt that the settlements of the Phœnicians reach up beyond this period. It is impossible to fix accurately the time of its foundation. The name Tarshish, or Tartessus, mentioned in the Mosaic records, among the tribes descended from Noah and dispersed after the flood, cannot with any direct certainty be referred to Spain; there is, however, a very remarkable historical fact preserved respecting the foundation of Gades, which any one acquainted with the usual manner of proceeding among the Phœnicians must consider, from its situation, to have been one of their first settlements. "Gades, it is said, was founded at the same time with Utica; the

[4] STRAB. p. 236. cf. BOCHART. p. 683.
[5] STRAB. p. 209.
[6] STRAB. p. 207.

foundation of Utica took place 270 years before that of Carthage[7]." According to this statement, the foundation of Gades must be placed at about 1100 years before the Christian era, or 100 years after the Trojan war. Exactly the same account is found in Pomponius Mela; and although these statements only bring us to somewhere *about* the date, they must be regarded as of great advantage; because they very clearly prove, that the most lively intercourse with Spain existed in the most flourishing period of Tyre, and of Phœnicia in general.

Fourthly. The relation in which the parent country and the colonies stood towards each other, is here also unfortunately buried in such deep obscurity, that very little can be said positively upon this highly interesting object. Only a few dark traces are left; but these, when carefully investigated, seem to give us the clue to several important facts. Thus it appears that the Phœnicians at first came merely as merchants[8], and made no attempt to plant settlements, till, after a closer acquaintance with the natives, they found it necessary for the enlargement and better security of their trade. Whether these colonies from the beginning were dependant

[7] VELLEIUS PATERCULUS (i. 2,) expressly says, that Gades was founded nearly at the same time as Utica; and adds, that it was about the time of the reign of Codrus, viz. about 1100 B.C. Aristotle has recorded the date of the foundation of Utica in his work *De Mirabil.* c. 146; and also adds, that it was thus stated in the Phœnician annals: *ἐν ταῖς Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις.* The statement will be found in DIODORUS i. p. 358.

[8] DIODOR. i. p. 358.

upon Tyre is uncertain; their nature, so far as their object was the working of the mines, seems to decide in the affirmative. How, unless this had been the case, would the Tyrians have been able to turn them to such good account, that they should be represented as the principal source of their opulence;—how have kept strangers away? The numerous emigrations that were constantly taking place, (much the same as in the last centuries poured from Spain into the new world,) as well as the intermixture with the natives, seem to lead to the same conclusion. A passage, too, in the prophet Isaiah[9], tends to shew that their dominion, like that of all other mining colonies, was not very mild. However this may have been, it is quite certain that the Phœnician colonies in Spain, if not independent from the first, became so at a very early period: for when the Phocæan Greeks first voyaged to Phœnician Spain, which happened in the period of Cyrus, about 556, they found Tartessus existing as a free state, with its own king, who bore himself so civilly towards the Greeks as plainly to

[9] See chap. xxiii. 10. This obscure passage is thus translated by Gesenius:

"Pass like the Nile, through thy land, O daughter of Tarshish;
No girdle longer obstructs thee."

Thus the prophet, while he is foretelling the downfall of Tyre, cries out to the Tartessians, Move now at liberty in your emancipated country, for your chains are broken! The exegetical commentator may decide, whether, in this comparison with the Nile, the expression *daughter of Tarshish* alludes to the Tartessian people, or may not also be referred to the river Tartessus, the Guadalquiver, which it is said shall, as freely flow through the free-become country of Tartessus, as the Nile through Egypt. The sense is the same, the metaphor alone being changed. GESENIUS, *Comment.* i. 732, refers the words to the people.

shew, that he was not unaccustomed to the visits of strangers[1]. This prince, whose reign is said to have extended to eighty years, was named Arganthonius; and this account of him, given by Herodotus, has been repeated by numerous other writers. There can therefore be no doubt, but that the territory of the Phœnicians upon the main land of the Spanish peninsular, fell under the dominion of a monarch perfectly independent. But the case was otherwise with regard to Gades. This state appears to have had a republican government, and to have been the chief of the neighbouring small colonies on the coast, much the same as Carthage was in Africa[2]; with this city it soon entered into a friendly alliance, which continued to the time of the Roman wars, when its willing submission to the Romans purchased it the rights of municipality.

The columns of Hercules formed the boundaries of the world, as known to the ancients. The countries without these, and beyond Gades, were enveloped in the thickest obscurity, which the Phœnicians endeavoured to increase by a mysterious secrecy. Only very doubtful information therefore can be expected respecting their farther settlements upon the shores of the ocean. We hear nothing beyond this point of great and flourishing colonies, such as Gades; though the very extensive range of their navigation must have rendered more distant settlements necessary.

[1] HEROD. i. 163.

[2] See *Carthaginians*, chap. i.

Strabo speaks of no less than three hundred cities, said to have been founded by Tyre on the western coast of Africa, but which afterwards fell a prey to the rude Gætuli and Libyans[3]. However exaggerated this number may be, it would not render the fact itself improbable, if it did not seem to be opposed by the circumstance of Hanno's having described the coast in his Voyage, as a land in which no earlier settlements had been made[4]. The date of Hanno's voyage, however, is itself uncertain; and it may very well have happened, that these earlier settled colonies were destroyed before it took place. Who, a hundred years hence, would be able to find any traces of the present colonies of Great Britain on the coasts of Australia, if it should be their lot to be subjugated and destroyed by its savage natives?

Another tradition was spread abroad by numerous writers of antiquity respecting a large island beyond the pillars of Hercules, which was taken possession of by the Phœnicians[5]. Although this tradition probably refers to Madeira, as is shewn in my Researches upon Carthage, yet it still seems doubtful, whether the proper Phœnicians ever reached that island; and whether this fact must not rather be understood of their successors the Carthaginians, who, it is well known, founded a colony there. The state-

[3] STRAB. p. 1182.

[4] A translation of HANNO'S *Voyage* will be found in the Appendix to the *African nations*, vol. i. 492, of the English edition.

[5] DIOD. i. p. 344.

ments of Diodorus, however, are too precise to allow of our depriving the Phœnicians of this glory. The whole body of traditions respecting the fortunate isles beyond the pillars of Hercules, which the poets and philosophers have so metamorphosed and adorned, would have become of themselves fluctuating and uncertain, even though the Phœnicians had not designedly cast over them a veil of mystery; a practice which they also followed with regard to their settlements on the European coasts, of which they would let nothing transpire, although the wares they brought from them prevented the fact of their visiting them from remaining altogether a secret[7]. It would indeed be entirely at variance with their general custom, and with their whole system of commercial policy, if they had not in various places of the northern coasts of Spain, and especially in the Casiterides, (Scilly islands,) established settlements; although no definite account of them had been preserved. Let no warm imagination, however, refer any of these traditions to a discovery of America. The Phœnicians might very well circumnavigate Africa and penetrate to the eastern sea; but to sail across the Atlantic to America was beyond them; for their navigation, even in its most flourishing state, like that of all other nations of antiquity and the middle ages, was confined to the coasts. Had indeed any accident driven a single ship to that distant shore, it would have been

[7] HEROD. iii. 115.

impossible to have turned the discovery to any advantage.

Let us now return through the pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean sea, and here we shall find another wide range of Phœnician colonies on the northern coast of Africa, in aftertimes the territory of Carthage. As a more extensive inquiry respecting the government and state of this country is detailed in another portion of this work, I shall confine myself here to a few general observations, which seem necessary to give the reader a general idea of the great extent of the Phœnician colonial system.

The colonies of this nation were not spread over the whole northern coast of Africa; but were settled mostly about the central part, which attracted them by its situation and great fertility, and afterwards formed the proper territory of Carthage, or the present Tunis. The settlements they formed here were so many staples, as well for their more distant trade to the west, as for their traffic with the interior of Africa[8]; and the great prosperity to which these places attained, is the clearest proof of the wise foresight with which they were chosen. All this strip of coast was covered with a chain of colonial cities, of which Utica, whose foundation, as has already been observed, was contempory with that of Gades, was, according to all existing accounts, the most ancient. Next to Utica came Carthage; and

[8] Diod. i. 358.

then, in a southern direction, Adrumetum, Tysdrus, Great and Little Leptis, and some others less considerable, which, in the end, became not exactly subject, but rather allies of Carthage, and so formed together a federative state, which took the same form as that of the parent country. The relation in which these cities stood towards the latter, before the predominance of the Carthaginians, could scarcely have been the same in all, and probably differed from the beginning; as some, Utica and others, were evidently founded as staples for trade, while others owed their origin to political troubles, by the emigration of the dissatisfied party. From their later relations with Carthage, it is very clear, that within a short period each had formed a little independent state, with its own proper government within itself, and its own little territory around it, without any further connexion with the mother state than a mere friendly alliance.

It has already been remarked, that the principal direction in which the Phœnician race extended itself by colonization, was towards the west; because, from their situation, their sea trade could take no other. But notwithstanding this, so soon as their land trade through Asia had reached the coasts of the Indian ocean, the want of settlements there must naturally have been felt. Traces of them, though certainly in part only doubtful traces, are found both on the Persian and Arabian gulfs. The names of two islands in the midst of the Persian, Tyrus, or

Tylos, and Aradus, bear striking marks of Phœnician origin; and in these have lately been discovered vestiges of Phœnician workmanship and buildings. I hope to identify these places in the following pages with the Baharein isles; but as this inquiry cannot well be carried on without taking a larger range, and spreading over the whole of the Persian gulf, I shall reserve it for the chapter on the Babylonians, where it will be more in place.

It would be strange if the Phœnicians had not likewise made some attempt to navigate the Arabian gulf, which lay nearer to them than the Persian. But the access to this was closed to them by another commercial and extensive nation, the Idumeans or Edomites, with whom the Jews stood in no friendly relation[9], and who themselves possessed two seaports, Eloth and Ezion Geber, on the northern coast of the same gulf. When, however, the boundaries of the Jewish empire under David had been so extended by the subjugation of the Edomites, as to take in these two places, the Phœnicians did not let the opportunity escape of opening the way to them for themselves by treaty[1]; and the navigation which they, in common with Solomon, carried on upon the Red Sea, drew so many of them to the above-named cities, that they may be fairly regarded as their colonies.

But, besides this, it seems that the Phœ-

[9] GESENIUS Commentar zu Jesaias i. 904, etc.

[1] 1 KINGS ix. 26, 27.

nicians fitted out ships from the western bay of the Arabian gulf, the present Suez and the Heroopolis of antiquity. Theophrastus, in speaking of the frankincense trade of Arabia Felix, to which we shall presently return, mentions the merchants who carried on this trade in their ships, from the city of Heroopolis, and the bay named after it, with the land of the Sabeans[2]. This navigation, too, was certainly ancient, even in his times. Who then could have carried it on except the Phœnicians?

Thus, then, this remarkable people spread themselves, not by fire and sword, and sanguinary conquests, but by peaceable and slower efforts, yet equally certain. No overthrown cities and desolated countries, such as marked the military expeditions of the Medes and Assyrians, denoted their progress; but a long series of flourishing colonies, agriculture and the arts of peace among the previously rude barbarians, pointed out the victorious career of the Tyrian Hercules[3].

[2] THEOPHRAST. Hist. Plant. ix. 4.

[3] DIOD. i. p. 264.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER III.

Navigation and sea trade of the Phœnicians.

WHO ARE THOSE THAT FLY LIKE A CLOUD,
AND LIKE DOVES TO THEIR HOLES?
THEY ARE VESSELS FROM SPAIN, WHO BRING THY SONS FROM AFAR;
THEIR GOLD AND THEIR SILVER WITH THEM.

ISAIAH, lx. 8, 9.

IT requires no great sagacity to develope the causes by which the Phœnicians became a commercial and seafaring people. They were in a manner constrained to it by their situation; for the commodities of interior Asia becoming accumulated in vast quantities upon their coasts, seemed to demand a further transport[1]. It would nevertheless be an error to assume this as the first and only impulse to their navigation, which most likely had the same origin here that it generally had among commercial nations: it sprung from piracy. The seeming advantages which this affords are too near and too striking to be overlooked by uncivilized nations; while the benefits to be derived from a peaceable and regular commerce, are too distant to come at first within the scope of their ideas. It was thus,

[1] Vol. i. page 39.

that the piratical excursions of the Normans gave the first impulse to the navigation of the western countries of Europe. But among nations who are not, like the African nest of pirates, held back by despotism and other unfavourable circumstances, good gradually grows out from this original evil. A trifling advance too in civilization soon teaches mankind how greatly the benefits of trade surpass those of plunder; and as the latter diminishes, the former increases.

This is exactly the state in which the navigation of the Phœnicians is first presented to our notice, in the time of Homer; the earliest period at which we catch an authentic glance at it from any definite accounts.

The Phœnicians at this period visited the Greek islands and the coasts of the continents, as robbers, or merchants, according as circumstances offered. They came with trinkets, beads, and baubles, which they sold at a high price to the inexperienced and unwary Greeks; and they thus gained opportunities of kidnapping their boys and girls, whom they turned to good account in the Asiatic slave markets, or who were redeemed at heavy ransoms by their parents and countrymen. A most faithful and lively picture of the state of society in these respects is drawn by the Greek bard himself, in the narrative which he makes Eumæus relate of his birth and early adventures[2].

[2] See Odyss. xv. 402, etc. Herodotus also gives the same account at the beginning of his history.

This kind of intercourse, however, could not last beyond the infancy of Grecian civilization. As this advanced, and that people grew formidable upon the seas, and Athenian and Ionian squadrons covered the Mediterranean, it must of itself have assumed another shape, as piracy would no longer be tolerated. But notwithstanding this, the connexion between Phœnicia and Greece, in the flourishing period of the latter, seems not to have continued so strong as might naturally have been expected. There is no trace of an active intercourse between Tyre and Athens, or Corinth; there is no vestige of commercial treaties, such as frequently were closed between Carthage and Rome[3]. Commercial jealousy, common to both nations, in some measure accounts for this phenomenon.—How much less has the intercourse between England and France always been, than it might have been, considering the situation and magnitude of the two kingdoms!—I trust, however, that the following observations will be deemed satisfactory upon this subject.

First. The principal source of trade among all great seafaring nations must ever be directed towards their colonies. It is only there that mutual exchange of commodities can be effected upon an extensive scale; all other sales are by retail, or in small quantities. This truth, which the experience of the greatest maritime states of modern times confirms beyond a doubt, was felt both by Phœnicians and Greeks; hence the chief

[3] ARISTOT. Polit. iii. 9.

commerce of both nations was confined to their colonies.

Secondly. The Greeks could the more easily abstain from purchasing of the Phœnicians, as they could import nearly all the wares they required from their own colonies in Asia Minor, which maintained the same intercourse with the countries of inner Asia, as Tyre and Sidon; and obtained and exported in a great degree the same Asiatic merchandize.

Thirdly. During the time of their greatest splendour, that is, from the commencement of the Persian wars, the Greeks were not only the rivals of the Phœnicians, but their declared political enemies. The hatred of the Phœnicians towards the Greeks is shewn in nothing clearer, than in their ready willingness to lend their fleets to the Persians; and in the active share they took in the Persian expeditions against the whole of Greece, or against the separate states. How then can it be expected, that under such circumstances a very lively or regular commerce could have existed between them?

The Phœnicians, however, still possessed the advantage of furnishing the Greeks with certain articles of the most costly description, in great demand, which they could not obtain from their own colonies, and the Phœnicians alone could supply. To these belong especially, perfumes and spices, which they imported from Arabia, and which were absolutely necessary to the Greeks in their sacrifices to the gods. They

also supplied them with the manufactures of Tyre; its purple garments, its rich apparel, its jewels, trinkets, and other ornaments, which could be obtained nowhere else of such fine workmanship, or so decidedly in accordance with the prevailing fashion.

The same causes which limited the commerce of the Phœnicians with Greece, tended also to diminish it with its colonies on the coast of Asia Minor and in Sicily. History has preserved us no express information upon this particular; but to the causes already cited, there remains to be added the fact, that in proportion as the trade of the Phœnicians decreased in the Western Mediterranean, that of the Carthaginians increased, till at length they possessed it almost exclusively.

It is therefore the commerce of the Phœnicians with their own colonial countries, and more particularly with Spain, that especially demands our attention. Even their establishments upon the great islands of the Mediterranean were only regarded, as I have already observed, as stations for these distant voyages. We will return to these Capes of Good Hope, when we have made ourselves acquainted with that country which formed the great object of their navigation. "Spanish ships were the great work of thy trade; thou wast a perfect city, and honoured upon the seas[4]."

[4] EZEKIEL xxvii. 25. Compare this with the very interesting passage in Isaiah lx. 8, 9; in which the prophet gives a fine picture of the future happiness of Jerusalem by comparing it with Tyre, to whose commerce he promises that city shall succeed.

A general view of Phœnician navigation leads us at once to remark, that their commercial policy proceeded upon the same principle, which obtains in all commercial states in their infancy; namely, to regard the representative of the value of things as more important than the things themselves; and consequently to prefer the possession of countries producing gold and silver to all others. The working of mines therefore was the business to which they most sedulously applied; and no fear, no labour, seems too great for them to overcome, if gold or silver mines were the object that called forth their enterprising spirit. Here that profit seemed to be made at once, which in other cases they could only hope to make by repeated barter of their wares. Here seemed to be opened at once the sources of wealth! Animated by these expectations they penetrated the Arabian desert, and braved the dangers of the Red Sea, till they reached Happy Arabia and the Æthiopian coasts. The same object led them through the pillars of Hercules and to the western limits of the world.

Spain, who in modern days has been compelled to fetch her treasures from the other side the Atlantic, was herself the Peru of antiquity. She was the richest country in the world for silver; she abounded in gold[5] and the less precious metals[6]. The most productive mines of silver were found in the districts which have been de-

[5] STRAB. p. 216.

[6] Especially tin. STRAB. p. 219.

scribed above, and which were comprised by the Phœnicians under the general name of Tartessus or Tarshish. The prodigious quantity of the precious metals which they found here upon their first arrival, so excited their astonishment, and the representation they made was so strongly impressed upon the mind of the nation, that the traditions preserved respecting them seem very remarkably to suit the pictures given by the Spanish discoverers of Peru. When the first Phœnicians visited Spain, it is said they found silver there in such abundance, that they not only freighted their ships with it to the water's edge, but made their common utensils, anchors not excepted, of this metal. Thus laden, they returned back to their native country, which lost no time in taking possession of this ancient Peru, and founding colonies there, whose name and situation we have already described[7].

When the Phœnicians first settled here, artificial mine works were quite unnecessary. The silver ore lay exposed to view, and they had only to make a slight incision to obtain it in abundance[8]. The inhabitants themselves were so little acquainted with its value, that their commonest implements were composed of this metal. The demands of the Phœnicians, and their avidity to possess it, first taught them its worth; and it is probable that the arrival and settlement among

[7] See ARISTOT. *de Mirabil.* cxlvii. et ibi BECKM.

[8] STRABO. l. c. and compare the chief passages with DIOD. i. p. 358, etc., my authority for the following remarks.

them of these strangers, who could supply them with so many useful articles, in exchange for that upon which they set such little store, was to them a source of gratification. But when the stock they had in hand was exhausted, and the insatiable foreigners saw it necessary to open mines, the lot of the poor Iberians became truly pitiable. That the Spanish mines were worked by slaves is clear from Diodorus, who describes their wretched fate; and even though his statement may refer to the time of the Romans, there can be but little doubt that the same practice had long previously existed. Whether the natives were compelled to this labour we know not positively; but they scarcely could have escaped it altogether, though the extensive traffic of the Phœnicians in slaves would have rendered it easy for them to introduce sufficient hands from abroad. Even if only employed as free labourers, their lot was sufficiently hard. That however the mines in Spain were not worked merely by digging, is clear from Diodorus, whose relation of itself proves that shafts were opened, and the subterraneous water forced out by machines; even if the interesting allusion to mine works in the book of Job should not be admitted as referring to the Phœnicians[9].

The mine works of the genuine Phœnicians seem to have been confined to the present Andalusia. According to Strabo, the oldest were situated upon the mountain in which the Bætis

[9] Job xxviii. 1—13, with the remarks of Michaelis.

or Guadalquiver takes its rise, upon the south part of the Sierra Morena, which, on the borders of Andalusia and Murcia, bore the name of Sierra Segura[1]. They did not extend beyond this previous to the time of the Carthaginians, who entered upon the conquest of Spain with much more energy and power.

For the rest, silver was certainly the principal, but could scarcely be the only object obtained. Gold, lead, and iron, were discovered; and besides these, tin mines were opened by the Phœnicians on the northern coast of Spain, beyond Lusitania. All these metals are spoken of by the prophet Ezekiel as the produce of the Spanish mines. "Spain (Tarshish) traded with thee, because of the multitude of thy goods; silver, iron, tin, and lead, it gave thee in exchange for thy wares[2]."

That in addition to the mines, the Phœnicians were attracted to Spain by the great fertility of the southern part of the country, is proved by the direct testimony of ancient writers[3]. Spain was regarded as the only country that was at once rich in metals, in corn, in wine, in oil, wax, fine wool[4], and fruits, which, under its mild and benign sky, attain to the highest perfection. Their

[1] Near Castillon: the mountain was called the silver mountain; STRAB. p. 221. Consequently the metals might be transported down the Bætis to the coast and seaports.

[2] EZEKIEL xxvii. 12; and for what relates to the tin, STRAB. p. 219.

[3] STRAB. and DIODOR. ii. cc. who are my authorities for the following statements.

[4] So excellent, according to STRAB. p. 213, even thus early was the Spanish fleece, that a talent was given for a ram of this breed.

superabundance naturally suggested the invention of pickles and preserves. The trade in salt fish has already been mentioned as a branch of the earliest commerce of Spain[5].

The commerce of the Phœnicians in their Spanish settlements was carried on in the same manner as they usually carried it on elsewhere; the only method indeed by which it can be carried on among uncivilized nations—namely, by barter. It is not only so described in the passage above quoted from the prophet Ezekiel, but the same is confirmed by Diodorus. They brought, on their side, Tyrian wares—probably linen, the usual clothing of Spain; perhaps also, trinkets and toys, and such articles of finery as are eagerly coveted by barbarians. In exchange for these they obtained the above-mentioned natural productions; and silver, not as money, but as merchandise and upon which their profit must have been doubled, if the conjecture, not destitute of probability, be true, that they bartered it in the southern countries for gold[6].

But besides these direct advantages which the Phœnicians drew from their Spanish colonies, they were likewise of important service in the

[5] STRAB. p. 213.

[6] According to Agatharchides; cf. BOCHART, p. 139. Silver in Arabia Felix was tenfold the price of gold, which was there in great abundance. Should the correctness of this statement be disputed, it will nevertheless be certain, that the relative value of the precious metals must have been very different and in favour of silver there, to what it was in other parts of the world.

extension of their commerce upon the Atlantic ocean. Gades was not merely the secure staple for the treasures and produce of Spain; but was likewise the starting point for that more distant navigation and commerce, over which the Phœnicians have cast a veil of secrecy, that all our endeavours cannot completely remove. It is known that from this port their vessels were fitted out for the tin islands, and the amber coasts; but where these are to be sought can only be conjectured, because it was evidently so much their advantage to keep away all rivals, especially from the amber trade, whose high price, equal to that of gold, must have been greatly reduced by competition. All that can be aid upon this subject with any degree of certainty, will be found in the chapter upon the navigation of the Carthaginians, whose ships also visited these regions. It is there fully proved that the British and Cassiteridean isles were the seat of the tin trade; but that nothing is known beyond probable conjecture respecting the native country of amber. It is still however probable, that the ships of the Phœnicians stretched as far as the Baltic sea and the coast of Prussia. Nothing can be argued against it from the difficulties of the navigation. The Phœnicians held no voyage to be impossible, which the state of the maritime art at that time would allow, and that was only coasting; and it lay in the very spirit of that people to penetrate along this coast by

repeated attempts, as far as it was possible for man to reach[7].

Respecting the navigation of the Phœnicians in the Atlantic sea there is still more uncertainty. The dark traditions of islands which they there visited certainly render it probable that they stretched out from Gades to Madeira and the Canary Islands; but of regular voyages to the gold coast beyond the Senegal, such as performed by their colonists the Carthaginians, there is not a shadow of proof. Of their great voyage of discovery round Africa I shall speak presently; in the mean time, let us return by the Pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean and take a glance at their commerce with Sicily and Carthage.

It would appear from Diodorus as if their settlements in both these countries were founded with no other object, than for the convenience of their intercourse with Spain; and so far as Sicily alone is concerned he seems to be right[8]. In the long voyage from their native shores to that distant country, an harbour, to which they might run in, in case of storms or other acci-

[7] Several well-informed men have objected to me, that the navigation through the Bay of Biscay must have presented an insurmountable difficulty, in consequence of the currents which prevail there. The same obstacles, however, are found on the north-west coast of Africa, and were overcome. Although the navigation of the Phœnicians was a coasting navigation, yet it must not be understood to have confined them always to the shore, and to have prevented them at all times from daring the open sea. If this had been the case how could they have performed their voyages across the Mediterranean?

[8] DIOD. i. p. 358.

cidents, was indispensibly necessary. And although they established here a trade by barter with the natives, and thus managed to obtain the rich produce of the island for themselves; it is probable that the Greeks, who were always extending their possessions, soon deprived them of all, except the original object of their settlement.

The case was different, however, with regard to Africa. If we merely look at the long line of commercial establishments formed upon this coast, it will be difficult to believe them all intended solely for the preservation of a communion with Spain. It is not denied but that such may have been the origin of the earliest settlements, as for example that of Utica; but when these cities began to flourish[9], and drew to themselves the trade of inner Africa, there can be no doubt but the Phœnicians took a part in it, and obtained the commodities of this quarter of the globe, though in the first instance only at second hand. Unfortunately we have not the least positive information respecting the commerce with these African colonies; yet if the nature of things alone should not establish its existence, it is sufficiently done by the strict friendly alliance which Carthage always maintained with Tyre. Mindful of their Phœnician origin, the Carthaginians sent sacred embassies upon certain occasions to the temple of the Tyrian Hercules. Such were found in that city when it was cap-

[9] DIOD. l. c.

tured by Alexander[1]; and during its siege the Tyrians sent part of their treasures, together with their wives and little ones, to Carthage, where they found a secure place of refuge[2]. So close and constant a connexion as this between two trading nations necessarily presupposes a long previous intercourse, which can therefore require no further proof.

Having thus shewn the direction and extent of the trade and navigation of the Phœnicians towards the west, let us now bend our course eastwards, and trace their progress upon the two great south-western gulfs of Asia, the Arabian and Persian. In these, it has already been stated, they had partly settled, and thus gained secure harbours from which to set forth on their still more distant enterprizes.

It must, however, be at once perceived, that their navigation here could not have a like undisturbed continuance with that of the Mediterranean. As the proper dominions of the Phœnicians never stretched so far as to either of these gulfs, it depended upon their political relations how far they could make use of the harbours they possessed there. For even though the way might be open to their caravans, the dominant nations of inner Asia might not be always willing to allow foreign colonies on their coasts.

Their navigation upon the Arabian gulf arose

[1] ARRIAN. ii. 24.
[2] DIOD. ii. p. 190.

out of their connexion with the Jews, and the extension of the dominions of the latter under David. Upon no portion of the ancient history of navigation and commerce has there been so much written, as upon the trade to Ophir; and, as is usually the case, where we have much that is probable and but little certain, upon nothing has less been concluded.

Respecting the date of this navigation and its starting point, history leaves us in no doubt. It certainly took place under Solomon, from the ports of Eloth, and Ezion-geber[3]. These places were situated on the two points where the Ælanitic gulf of the Arabian sea ends. They had previously belonged to the Idumeans, or Edomites, a people who had probably carried on this same navigation from time immemorial[4]; and fell into the hands of the Jewish conqueror, with that nation itself. The Phœnicians did not let this opportunity pass by, but founded, in connexion with their allies, the Jews, a maritime commerce of advantage to both parties, as the

[3] See 1 KINGS ix. 26. 2 CHRON. viii. 10. 21.

[4] Many historians and commentators have laid it down as certain, that the Idumeans were a maritime people, on the sole ground of their possessing these two seaports; but though such a possession may give rise to conjecture, it can never become a positive proof. In the oracles pronounced so many times against the Idumeans by the prophets, (ISAIAH xxxiv. and lxiii. and EZEKIEL xxv. 20, etc.) no allusion is made to their maritime commerce; though no doubt is left as to their having taken a share in the land trade; since Petra, its principal mart, (of which more anon,) was in their territory; and Bozrah, their capital, is represented as a splendid city doomed to be laid waste: ISAIAH xxxiv. 6—13. Their relations with the Hebrews, almost invariably hostile, have been historically developed by GESENIUS, *Comment. ad Isaiam* xxxiv.

Jews were scarcely in a situation to carry it on alone. Uncertainty, however, prevails when we inquire the situation of the place to which their voyages were directed: the celebrated Ophir, which some would find in Ceylon, others in Happy Arabia, and a celebrated traveller, with an extraordinary shew of learning, on the eastern coast of Africa[5]. Like, however, the name of all other very distant places, and regions of antiquity—like Thule, Tartessus, and others, we may safely infer that Ophir denotes no particular spot, but only a certain region or part of the world, such as the East and West Indies in modern geography. Ophir was the general name for the rich countries of the south, lying on the African, Arabian, and Indian coasts, as far as at that time known. From these the Phœnicians had already obtained vast treasures by caravans; but they now opened a maritime communication with them, in order to lighten the expence of transport, and to procure their merchandize at the best hand. The name of Ophir was common even in the time of Moses, and was then applied to those southern countries only known by common report. It was therefore now spoken of as a well-known name and country; and it may be fairly presumed, that when the Phœnicians entered upon this new line of trade,

[5] See BOCHART, p. 769; MICHAELIS, *Spicil.* ii. p. 184; and BRUCE'S TRAVELS, i. p. 143. What most confirms the truth of the explanation given in the text is, that Bochart and others who wish to fix the name of Ophir to one particular spot, have been obliged to admit several places of the same name.

they only took possession of a previously well-established system; since it was a regular settled navigation, and not a voyage of discovery. From its taking three years to perform, it would appear to have been directed to a distant region; but if we consider the half-yearly monsoons, and that the vessels visited the coasts of Arabia, Ethiopia, and the Malabar coast of India; and also that the expression, *in the third year*[6], may admit of an interpretation that would much abridge the total duration, the distance will not appear so great. The commodities which they imported were ivory, precious stones, ebony and gold, to which may be added apes and peacocks; all satisfactorily proving that they visited the countries just mentioned; especially Ethiopia, and probably India[7].

We learn from the Jewish annals that the advantages of this navigation were immense. But

[6] 2 CHRON. ix. 21. According to Michaelis's translation. As the periodical winds of the Arabian gulf vary from those of the Indian sea, and the same southerly wind only continues to blow for three months, viz. from January to April, a vessel coasting along the shore of India, of Ethiopia and Arabia, and which would naturally touch and trade at several places, could not return the same year it set out. If, for example, it left Œlana in the month of October one year, it would be unable to return with the south wind into the gulf before the spring of the third year from its departure. Thus the year of its return would be the third in number, although its absence in reality would be but eighteen months. SALT, (*Travels to Abyssinia*, p. 103,) in contradicting the statements of Bruce, says, that the Arabians perform this voyage in one year; but he does not mark the date of their departure from Œlana, nor reckon the time spent at the intermediate stations, which seems to be the essential point.

[7] Compare HERODOT. iii. 114, where these very Ethiopian wares will be found mentioned.

admitting that their representations are not over coloured, it will still be highly incorrect to suppose that it was to this trade alone, or even in an eminent degree, that Tyre was indebted for her power and opulence. From what is said in the sacred writings, it would seem that this trade was very limited. It certainly formed only a lesser branch of the great Phœnician commerce, whose merchants procured the same merchandize by another, perhaps more profitable way; besides, no diminution is observable in the splendour of Tyre upon the interruption of this navigation, when the Jews were driven from these two seaports, which probably took place during the civil wars which arose upon the death of Solomon, when the Edomites revolted[8].

The case was different with their navigation in the Persian gulf. For though the exact point to which they traded from the Arabian sea is uncertain, there can be no doubt but from this point they had a communication with the Indian coasts. As the investigation of this matter, however, demands a previous description of the Persian gulf, and as the Phœnicians only shared this trade with the Babylonians and Chaldæans, the inquiry will be more in place in the following section, devoted to the Babylonians, where it will be set forth in as clear a light as possible.

The voyages of the Phœnicians thus far had a fixed and regular course; but besides these, they

[8] See Gesenius and others. The attempt made to reestablish this maritime intercourse under Jehoshaphat was unsuccessful.

were in the habit of fitting out expeditions for the purpose of discovery, which often led the way to an enlargement of their commerce; though they sometimes had no result beyond the extension of their geographical knowledge. Chance has preserved us some particulars respecting a few of these enterprises, through their having been fortunately quoted by Herodotus; but how much more may have been undertaken, and successfully performed, by a people who, no doubt, like Great Britain and Portugal, had its Cooke and its Vasco de Gama.

In one of these voyages towards the Hellespont, which they undertook at a very early period, to explore Europe, they discovered the isle of Thasos, opposite the Thracian coast, and were amply repaid for their pains by its productive gold mines, which they worked with wonderful labour and skill, as we learn from Herodotus, who saw them, till they were driven from the island by the Greeks[9].

The same writer has given us an account of a still more wonderful voyage which this people undertook and successfully performed; this was nothing less than the circumnavigation of Africa. I shall here place before the reader the remarkable narrative, as given by the historian himself[1].

"That Africa is clearly surrounded by the sea, except where it borders on Asia, Neco king of the Egyptians, was the first we know of to de-

[9] HEROD. ii. 44. cf. vi. 47.

[1] HEROD. iv. 42.

monstrate. That prince, having finished his excavations for the canal leading out of the Nile into the Arabian gulf, despatched certain natives of Phœnicia on shipboard, with orders to sail back through the Pillars of Hercules into the north (Mediterranean) sea, and so to return into Egypt. The Phœnicians, consequently, having departed out of the Erythræan sea, proceeded on their voyage in the southern sea: when it was autumn they would push ashore, and sowing the land, whatever might be the part of Libya they had reached, await there till the harvest time: having reaped their corn, they continued their voyage; thus, after the lapse of two years, and passing through the Pillars of Hercules in the third, they came back into Egypt, and stated, what is not credible to me, but may be so, perhaps, to others, namely, that in their circumnavigation of Libya, they had the sun on the right hand, (that is, on the north.)

Such is the account of this bold and successful voyage, as given by the father of history. We see here that the Phœnicians undertook the circumnavigation of Africa from the side opposite to that from which the Portuguese set forth; that is, they started from the Arabian gulf and returned through the straits of Gibraltar into the Mediterranean. They landed several times in order to sow and to reap; a procedure by no means surprising, if it be borne in mind how soon, in the warm climates of Africa, the harvest follows the seed time,—in three months at most; and

as their vessels would need repair, the crew rest, and the sick attention and fresh provisions, they would sometimes be absolutely obliged to lay to and land for several weeks; hence there will be nothing strange in their sowing and reaping. The most interesting part of the narration, however, is the observation at the end, by which the writer, against his will, as it were, confirms the truth of the statement, by the recital of what appeared to him a fable; namely, that the mariners reported upon their return, that in the course of their voyage they had seen the sun in the north. Such we know must have been the case if they passed the equator; and who does not feel how impossible it was for them to have imagined this fact?

Notwithstanding this, modern writers of high character have formally denied the whole narrative of Herodotus, and brought forward various objections against it[2]. Herodotus's account, they say, is founded upon a mere tradition;—it is unexplained why a king of Egypt should have formed such a plan as this;—the time occupied by the voyage is too short;—the difficulties of the navigation along a dangerous coast too great;—and, finally, it is inconceivable that the discovery should not have led to more important results. Now it seems, in my opinion, always unreasonable to contradict positive historical testi-

[2] MANNERT *Geographie der Griechen und Romer*, i. 20, etc. and GOSSELIN *Recherches sur la Géographie des Anciens*, i. 149. Herodotus's statement, on the other hand, has found a most able defender in RENNEL, *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 682, etc.

mony, on account of mere pretended improbabilities; and more especially when it is so strongly supported by internal evidence, as in the present instance. The objections, however, here brought forward are easily removed. For, in the first place, it is a mere assumption to say, that Herodotus's narrative is founded merely upon tradition. He does not, it is true, name his authority, but he speaks of the fact so positively as to imply a certainty, that in his eyes it had sufficient weight. Still less will it seem strange, that Neco, king of Egypt, should have planned this enterprize, when the character of that prince is taken into consideration. He had already built fleets on the Mediterranean and Red seas, and had endeavoured to unite them by means of a canal, which would make Africa an island[3]. He had penetrated into Asia as a conqueror, to the banks of the Euphrates[4]. Can it then excite surprise that he should conceive the idea of discovering the form and size of Africa?

The last objection, that this discovery must have led to greater consequences, falls at once to the ground, if we consider the history of Phœnicia immediately after it took place. The desolating expeditions of the Babylonian conquerors—indeed the protracted siege of Tyre itself by Nebuchadnezzar followed closely after. A period in which the Phœnicians were con-

[3] HEROD. ii. 158, 159.

[4] He lost the great battle at Circesium, or Carchemis, which established the Babylonian empire. See JEREM. xlvi. 2, etc.

strained by the loss of their independence, to forego the idea of new voyages of discovery, even if they had had the power and inclination to undertake them.

The greatest objection, perhaps, is that presented by the difficulties of the navigation, and the shortness of the time in which the voyage is said to have been performed. It amounts, however, as I think, to nothing; for are we in a situation to judge, even with any tolerable degree of accuracy, of the perfection to which Phœnician navigation had been carried, or of its various resources? The following observations, however, I trust, will completely clear away this objection.

First. It has already been remarked in the introduction, that those nations which are accustomed to coasting navigation are generally much better acquainted with its peculiar dangers than even the great seafaring nations, whose vessels keep to the high seas. How well exercised in it then must the Phœnicians have been, who navigated from Tyre round Europe to Britain, and probably into the midst of the Baltic sea?

Secondly. It is incorrect to assume that they had to navigate a coast wholly unknown. The eastern coast of Africa they had visited from the time of Solomon; their voyages to Ophir prove that they had a regular maritime communication with this quarter; and who can determine to what extent it was carried on, or how far they had penetrated along this coast? Indeed, even

the above-mentioned seed-times and harvests presuppose an acquaintance with the climate of those hot regions, without which they never could have conceived such an idea; it affords therefore, instead of an objection, rather a proof of the truth of Herodotus's narrative[5].

Finally. It has been clearly ascertained by recent investigations, that the difficulties of the circumnavigation of Africa are not nearly so great in starting from the Arabian sea as from the Mediterranean. All here combined to facilitate the progress of the expedition; not only the regular winds which prevail in those regions, but also the currents, which are perhaps in this case of still more importance. It is principally upon these that coasting navigation depends; and both these, and the winds, were favourable to the Phœnicians from the time they cleared the Arabian gulf, till they reached the coast of Guinea, the longest and most difficult part of their voyage[6].

But leaving these distant voyages of discovery out of the question, the extent to which this enterprising people carried their regular navigation is truly wonderful. Though voyages across the open seas have been the consequence of our acquaint-

[5] However great my belief in Herodotus's narrative, I cannot agree with Michaelis in supposing that this discovery gave rise to the establishment of a regular navigation to Gades and Tarshish, round Africa, of which there is not the least proof. See MICHAELIS, *Spicil.* i. p. 98., etc.

[6] These particulars are fully detailed, for the first time, in RENNEL'S *Geography of Herodotus.* In this likewise will be found an important map of Africa, in which the winds and currents are noted down.

ance with the new world beyond the Atlantic; yet their hardy and adventurous spirit led them to find a substitute for it in stretching from coast to coast into the most distant regions. The long series of centuries during which they were exclusively the masters of the seas, gave them sufficient time to make this gradual progress, which perhaps was the more regular and certain in proportion to the time it occupied. The Phœnicians carried the nautical art to the highest point of perfection at that time required, or of which it was then capable; and gave a much wider scope to their enterprises and discoveries than either the Venetians or Genoese during the middle ages. Their numerous fleets were scattered over the Indian and Atlantic ocean, and the Tyrian pennant waved at the same time on the coasts of Britain and on the shores of Ceylon.

PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER IV.

Manufactures and land trade of the Phœnicians.

A MULTITUDE OF CAMELS SHALL COVER THEE,
DROMEDARIES FROM MIDIAN AND EPHAH!
FROM SHEBA WILL THEY COME,
AND BRING THEE GOLD AND FRANKINCENSE.

ISAIAH lx. 6.

THE merchandise exported by the Phœnicians consisted partly of the produce of their own industry and skill; but in a much greater extent of the wares which they received, or imported themselves, from the countries of Asia with which they maintained an intercourse. The raw materials, which their art and labour fashioned, must have been drawn from abroad, as their own little territory could have supplied but a very small portion of what was necessary to satisfy the demands of their numerous and large customers scattered all over the world. It is very evident therefore from these facts, that the Phœnicians must have enjoyed an extensive commerce by land, although no express information respecting it has been handed down to us. This trade, however, as well as that of the Carthaginians, has been but very little noticed, and would perhaps

have escaped investigation altogether, if it had not in a manner been forced upon the attention of the expositors of the Old Testament, who could not, without comment, well pass by the constant allusions made to this traffic in the prophecies of Ezekiel.

The whole of the twenty-seventh chapter of that prophet refers to this subject. This portion of the sacred writings, so valuable for the history of national intercourse, contains, for example, a geographical view of commerce, so precise, that one might almost imagine the prophet had a map of the world before him. It relates in a particular manner to the land trade of Tyre, now threatened with ruin by the military expeditions of Nebuchadnezzar. The difficulties which occur with regard to the geographical names have been satisfactorily removed, or at least as far as possible, by Bochart and Michaelis. Without these contemporary documents the extent of Tyrian commerce might have been conceived, but it could not have been proved; for the statements of the Greek writers upon this subject are extremely short and meagre. The sketch, however, of the Hebrew poet affords us an interesting picture of the great international commerce of inner Asia, which enlarges our narrow ideas of ancient trade, by shewing us that it connected nearly all the countries of the known world.

Previous to the investigation of this branch of the foreign commerce of the Phœnicians, let us take a glance at the productions of their own

skill and industry, which were, even in the remotest antiquity, so generally celebrated, that the remembrance of them has been preserved to the present day.

Among the inventions of the Phœnicians, their dyes indisputably hold the highest rank. The beautifully coloured garments of Sidon were celebrated in the Homeric period[7]; and no one can be ignorant that the Tyrian purple formed one of the most general and principal articles of luxury in antiquity. All that I have been able to collect upon this important subject is comprised in the following general observations[8].

In the first place, it is altogether incorrect to consider this purple as one particular colour. The expression seemed rather to have signified among the ancients, the whole class of dyes manufactured from an animal substance; namely, the juice of shell-fish. It thus formed a distinct species of dye, differing from the second, the vegetable dye, which was composed of various vegetables, (*colores herbacei*[9].) Now the first species comprised not merely one, but a great number and variety of colours; not only purple, but also light and dark purple, and almost every shade between[1].

[7] See *Iliad* vi. 291. *Od.* xv. 424.

[8] The best works upon this material have been written by the Italians. The chief work is AMATI *de Restitutione purpurarum*, third edition, Cesena, 1784. To this is appended a Treatise by CAPELLI, *de antiqua et nupera Purpura*, with notes. An excellent addition to these two works is contained in DON MICHAELE ROSA *Dissertazione delle porpore e delle materie vestiarie presso gli antichi*, 1768.

[9] AMATI, p. 1.

[1] AMATI, l. c., enumerates nine simple purple colours from white to

Secondly. There were two species of testaceous animals made use of for this dye; one, *buccinum,* found in cliffs and rocks; the other, *purpura* or *pelagia,* (the proper *purple-shell,*) was taken by fishing in the sea. The shells of both were spiral; but that of one was round; and that of the other, pointed; both being said to be as many years old as they had circles round[2]. They were both found in such great quantities, that, according to Pliny's expression, they covered, as it were, the shore; and not merely on the Phœnician coast, but the whole of the Mediterranean, and even the Atlantic. In the Mediterranean, the countries most celebrated for them were the shores of the Peloponnesus and Sicily; and in the Atlantic, the coast of Britain. There is an essential difference, however, in the quality of the colour, which of course must proceed from physical causes. Thus the shells of the Atlantic are said to have the darkest juice; those on the Italian and Sicilian coasts, a violet, or purple; and those on the Phœnician, and in general on the southern coast, a scarlet, or crimson[3]. The juice of the whole animal was not made use of: but a substance, called the flower, was pressed from a white vein or vessel in the neck, and the remaining part thrown away as useless[4].

black, and five mixed. The first are black, grey, (*lividus,*) violet, red, dark blue, light blue, yellow, reddish, and white.

[2] See AMATI, p. xxvii.

[3] AMATI, p. xxvi.

[4] The principal authority is PLIN. ix. 36. cf. AMATI, p. xxx.

Thirdly. It is evident that this dye was only by slow degrees brought to perfection, and acquired its great celebrity. Still the Phœnicians are expressly indicated as the first who brought it into use; for the Tyrian Hercules is mentioned as the inventor; and the circumstance of their dwelling where these shells were found in such vast quantities naturally led them to make the discovery. Purple dyes, however, were by no means exclusively confined to the Phœnicians[5]; but by their great industry and skill, and from the excellent quality of the shells on their shore, they were enabled to bring it to a higher degree of perfection, and to maintain the superiority. Scarlet and violet purples, in particular, were nowhere dyed so well as in Tyre; garments of this colour, therefore, were in the greatest request among the great, and the prevailing fashion in the higher ranks of society. This furnishes us at once with a reason for the unbounded extent to which this branch of industry was carried by the Phœnicians.

Finally. Although all kinds of stuffs among the ancients, both cotton and linen, and in later times silk, were dyed purple, yet was this colour made use of in a more especial manner for woollens. The neighbouring nomads, as I shall presently shew, supplied these of an excellent quality and fineness to the Phœnicians, who were thereby enabled to produce garments of a

AMATI, p. XXXV.

higher value, both in the superiority of the material and the colour[6].

The dying was performed at all times *in the wool,* and was usually repeated (*purpuræ dibaphæ*). By this was sometimes obtained the bright scarlet, and sometimes the violet tint; indeed, various sorts of purple were produced, and various processes followed[7]. Beauty, delicacy, and durability, were the great excellencies for which purple raiment was generally esteemed; but besides this, the Phœnicians also understood the art of throwing a peculiar lustre into this colour, by making other tints play over it, and producing what we call a shot colour, which seems to have made it wonderfully attractive[8]. Gaudy and glaring colours have in all ages most excited the attention of the vulgar and uncivilized; it is not therefore surprising that they had most admirers in the time of the Phœnicians.

Dyeing cannot exist without weaving. And it follows, that as the dyeing among the Phœnicians was done in the wool, the stuffs which they exported must have been the product of their own industry. The principal manufactories of this

[6] AMATI, p. xlvi.

[7] It will be easily perceived, that neither the superior beauty nor the variety of the colours depended merely upon the natural properties of the material; but principally upon the skill displayed in the preparation and mixing. Thus to obtain a dark red, the wool was first dipped in the juice of the *purpura*, and then, after being combed, in that of the *buccinum*. To obtain a violet, this process was reversed. Peculiar dexterity and care, however, were required in the preparations, in order to obtain the exact tint required. See AMATI, p. xxxv. etc.

[8] AMATI, p. xlii.

sort were, in earlier times, at Sidon: Homer repeatedly praises its raiment[9]. At a later period, however, they were common in the other Phœnician cities, and especially in Tyre. It is much to be regretted, that history, which so celebrates the garments and woollens of this city, has preserved us no direct information respecting them.

Another product of Phœnician skill was glass; of this they were the inventors, and long enjoyed the exclusive manufactory[1]. The sand, or *vitrum*, used for this purpose, was found in the southern districts of this country, near the little river *Belus*, which rose at the foot of Mount Carmel, out of the lake *Cendeva*, (probably Megiddo[2].) The glass manufactories continued, according to Pliny, during a long succession of centuries; their principal seats were at Sidon and the neighbouring Sarephta[3]. From the small number of glass houses, the use of glass would seem to have been much less general in antiquity than among us. While the mildness of the climate in all southern countries, as well as all over the east, rendered any other stoppage of the windows unnecessary, except that of curtains or blinds, goblets of the precious metals or stones were preferred as drinking vessels. This, however, seems in some measure to have been made up for by

[9] *Il.* vi. 29. *Od.* xv. 424.

[1] Upon this subject we have two treatises: HAMBERGER, *Vitri Historia ex antiquitate eruta;* and MICHAELIS, *Historia vitri apud Hebræos,* both in the *Commentariis Soc. Goett.* t. iv. p, 1754 A.

[2] See MICHAELIS, l. c. p. 310.

[3] The chief authority is PLIN. xxxvi. 26. cf. HAMBERGER, l. c. p. 488.

the early introduction of a singular kind of luxury in the stately edifices of these countries; that of covering the ceilings and walls of the apartments with glass[4]. The various significations, however, in which the Greek expression ὕαλος is made use of, and which properly means any transparent material, as chrystal, various kinds of stones, and the like, render it impossible to determine with certainty whether glass itself or some other transparent substance is spoken of.

Under this head of Phœnician industry, too, may be ranged ornaments of dress, implements, utensils, baubles, and gewgaws, which they produced. The nature of their trade, which for a long time was confined to a traffic by barter with rude uncultivated nations, among whom such commodities have always a quick and certain sale, must at a very early period have turned their attention to this branch of industry. A skilfully wrought chain of amber and gold was brought by Phœnician ships into Greece, according to Homer[5]: artificial works in ivory, supplied by their trade with India and Ethiopia, are mentioned by Ezekiel[6]; and how many other branches of their skill and industry may the lack of information have consigned to forgetfulness[7]?

[4] MICHAELIS, l. c. That this taste still prevails in Asia will be seen in MORIER, i. 218. So long as glass was only manufactured by the Phœnicians, it was accounted a precious commodity, and consequently might very well be esteemed an article of luxury.

[5] ODYSS. xv. 459.

[6] EZEK. xxvii. 6.

[7] If we may assume that the ornaments worn by Jewish ladies were of Phœnician manufacture, which can scarcely be doubted, then the passage

Chance has preserved us but little, yet this little is sufficient to prove that much must have existed among a rich, proud, and luxurious people.

Let us now turn to the foreign commerce which the Phœnicians carried on with the nations of the interior of Asia.

We shall have a better view of this land trade of the Phœnicians, if we divide it into three branches, according to its three principal directions. The first of these comprises the southern trade, or the Arabian-East-Indian, and the Egyptian; the second, the eastern, or the Assyrian-Babylonian; and the third, that of the north, or the Armenian-Caucasian. The statements of the prophets supply the groundwork of this investigation; the scattered accounts, however to be found in other writers, and especially the Greek, will frequently throw an additional light upon the subject.

It is evident, from the various particulars mentioned by the Hebrew poets, as well as by prophane writers, that the first of these three branches of commerce was the most important. We call it the Arabian-East-Indian, not because we here assume it as proved that the Phœnicians

in Isaiah iii. 18—23, will give us a more accurate view of them. "In that day will the Lord take away the ornaments of feet-buckles, and the cauls, and the little moons; the earrings, and the little chains; (query bracelets?) and the veils; the frontlets, and the feetchains, and the girdles, and the smelling bottles, and the amulets; the rings for the fingers, and the nose-rings; the holiday clothes, and the petticoats, and the mantles, and the pockets; the mirrors, and the shifts, and the turbans, and the flowers." (GESENIUS'S *Translation.*) In the following verse are mentioned the artifical hair arrangements, "the well-curled locks."

themselves journeyed over Arabia to India; but because they procured in Arabia the merchandise of the East Indies, for which it was at that time the great market. With regard to Arabia itself, however, they kept up an intercourse with every part of it, as well its eastern coast as that bordering on the Arabian sea. It is necessary, therefore, to make a few preliminary remarks upon the state and peculiarities of this extensive country, without which the reader would scarcely be able to form a correct estimate of the extent and importance of Phœnician commerce.

Arabia is one of the largest countries of the world, its superficial extent being more than three times as much as that of Germany. Its physical peculiarities distinguish it in a striking manner from the rest of Asia; and seem in a manner to point it out as a continuation of Africa, from which it is only divided by a gulf. Its natural features are not only generally the same, but change under the same parallels of latitude. The regions between 30° and 28° N. L. over which in Africa the great sandy desert spreads itself, find their exact counterpart in Arabia; and were it not for the existence of the Nile and the Arabian gulf, the whole of this immense portion of the globe, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean to the Persian gulf, would be one uninterrupted desert of sand, in which not the least difference would be visible in the African and Asiatic, or Arabian portions. In Africa, again, the region of fertility recommences

under the twentieth parallel in the countries about the Niger; the same also takes place in Arabia. This change is expressed in the very name of the southern part of this peninsula, which is called the Happy Arabia. From this similarity of country, the trade of Arabia necessarily assumed the same form as that of Africa. Those, for example, who were desirous of opening a communication with this rich country, had first to cross the desert; and as this could only be done by large companies or caravans, it follows that the land trade with Arabia in ancient times, as well as since, could only be carried on by caravans.

Now although the desert itself was not without its produce, it is the southern fertile districts that more particularly merit the attention of the historian. It bore the name of Yemen, (the country to the right, in opposition to Syria); a name which, like that of Arabia Felix, given to it by the Greeks, but unknown in the country itself, sometimes signified the whole of the southern part of this peninsula between the Persian and Arabian gulfs; and at others, only the district on the south-west, washed by the Indian sea. Even in the latter acceptation of the word, Yemen is about equal in size to France; and well deserves its name of Happy, contrasted with the desert. It derives it, indeed, not so much from a positive uniform fertility, as from its comparative, occasioned by the many little mountain-streams which it contains,

and which, in this hilly region, everywhere spring forth, without increasing to large rivers.

In a commercial point of view, Yemen was important in two respects: first, on account of its own productions; and, secondly, as the great staple of Indian and Ethiopian merchandise. It has always been, as well as the opposite coast of Ethiopia, from the earliest times, the principal country for spices and perfumes, and especially frankincense; whose great importance in ancient commerce has been spoken of upon several occasions. The various kinds of perfumes imported from this country by the Phœnicians in the time of Herodotus, are accurately described by that writer[8]. "To the south," he observes, "is Arabia, the most distant of inhabited countries. In this land grow frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and ledanon. The frankincense is collected from trees, in which are found a number of small-winged serpents, which they are obliged to drive away by burning gum-styrax. Cassia grows in a shallow lake, infested by numerous winged insects, like bats; from these the inhabitants protect themselves by covering the whole body and eyes with skins. Finally, the ledanon is found like filth sticking to the beards of he-goats: this perfume however is used in several ointments, and is that which in general the Arabians burn[9]." How

[8] HEROD. iii. 107—112.

[9] Distrusting my own experience, I have given the decisions of natural historians respecting these plants, as furnished me by a scholar well

these legends are to be interpreted, and how far they are founded upon historical truth, I shall not venture to determine. It may perhaps be doubtful, whether the small flying serpents were any thing more than musquitoes; or the winged insects, similar to bats, any thing more than the winged lizards so common in that country[1]. The statement respecting the ledanon explains itself, in assuming that it exudes from a shrub upon which the goats are fond of browsing[2]. The frankincense is less a native of Arabia itself than the opposite coast of Zuila in Africa, as our investigations respecting that country will prove.

Besides these spices, gold and precious stones are expressly enumerated among the natural productions of Happy Arabia. Gold mines, it is true, are no longer to be found there, but the assurances of antiquity respecting them are so

skilled in the botany of the ancients. Σμύρνη is *myrrh.* cf. DIOSCOR. i. 77. THEOPHR. ix. 45. Κάσια is *laurus casia L.* cf. DIOSC. i. 12. THEOPH. ix. 45. But λάδανον is *cistus creticus L.* DIOSC. i. 128. cf. TOURNEFORT, i. p. 29.

[1] Draco volans L. See GESENIUS, *Commentar zu Jesaias*, i. 496.

[2] [The ledanon is a production of the ledum, a species of cistus; it is a sort of gummy exudation, collected now-a-days in the Levant, by rubbing the branches with a piece of leather, to which the viscous matter sticks: it is afterwards scraped off, rolled into balls, and dried. I have seen goats browsing on the leaves, in the interior parts of the island of Ceos, and have no doubt that what Herodotus states respecting the ancient mode of collecting this drug may be true. The ledum is cultivated in our gardens, under the name of the gum cistus, (cistus ladaniferus, *Linn.*); the viscidity of the foliage is not so great as in the plants that grow on the coast of Asia Minor, although it is sufficient to produce a very disagreeable clamminess on the fingers of those that handle it. *Note to the passage in* LAURENT'S *Herodotus.* TR.]

general and explicit, that it is impossible reasonably to doubt that Yemen once abounded in gold[3]. Why indeed should not the mountains of Arabia yield this metal, which was so plentiful in those just opposite, in Ethiopia? The minute acquaintance which Job (supposed to have been an Arabian) displays of mining affairs, renders this highly probable[4]. Golden ore was also washed down by the mountain streams, and cleared from the sand by washing[5]. With regard to precious stones, they were found in the mountains of the province of Hadramaut[6]; such at least as were considered precious by the ancients; namely, onyxes, rubies, agates, etc.

But in addition to these native productions of Happy Arabia, other wares are mentioned as Arabian, certainly not the proper produce of this country, but either Ethiopian or Indian. To the former belongs cinnamon, or cannella; and to the latter, ivory and ebony. Cinnamon is certainly enumerated by Herodotus among the productions of Arabia; but the fabulous account which he repeats upon the authority of the Phœnicians, shews very plainly, that they made a mystery of its real native country[7]. Where cinnamon grows, or what country produces it, they cannot say; excepting that some, not improbably affirm, that it grows in those regions where

[3] MICHAELIS, *Spicileg.* ii. p. 190. BOCHART, p. 139, 140.
[4] JOB xxviii. 1—12.
[5] STRAB. p. 777.
[6] The *Chatramotite* of the Greeks.
[7] HEROD. l. c.

Bacchus was brought up[8]. A large kind of fowl is said to bear these plants, which we, after the Phœnicians, call cinnamon, to their nests[9], from which it is procured by a stratagem, which he goes on to describe. Theophrastus[1], also, who distinguishes the various kinds of cinnamon according to its quality, has a story about serpents, that rendered its collection dangerous, which shews how widely these tales of the Phœnicians were spread. Later historians, as Diodorus and Strabo[2], mention cinnamon, it is true, among the other productions of Arabia; but it may be easily seen that they confounded the merchandise imported with the produce of the country. Besides these, cardamomum, nard, and other spices, used in odoriferous waters and unguents, are expressly enumerated by Theophrastus as coming from India[3].

Having settled the principal articles of trade, the very important question arises, what districts and places of Arabia Felix were the chief seats of this commerce? It is a great advantage to history, that the prophet has left us so many accurate particulars upon this subject. The places mentioned by him render it quite certain that the Phœnicians made choice, in an especial manner, of the two districts of Hadramaut and

[8] That is, in India.

[9] I shall shew in the next section, on the trade of the Babylonians, that this is an ancient tradition of Ceylon.

[1] THEOPH. Hist. Plant. ix. 5.

[2] DIOD. i. p. 161. STRAB. p. 1124.

[3] THEOPHR. ix. 7.

Sedscar, the richest and most fruitful of Yemen. "Wadan and Javan brought thee from Sanaa sword-blades, cassia, and cinnamon, in exchange for thy wares. The merchants of Saba and of Raema traded with thee; the best spices, precious stones, and gold, brought they to thee for thy wares. Haran, Canna, Aden, Saba, traded with thee[4]." Some of these places, as Aden, Canna, Haran, all celebrated seaports on the Indian sea, as well as Sanaa and Saba, or Mariaba, still the capital of Yemen, have retained their names unchanged to the present day: the site of others, as Wadan, on the straits of Babelmandeb, rest only on probable conjecture. These accurate statements of the prophet at all events prove what a special knowledge the inhabitants of Palestine had of Happy Arabia, and how great and active the intercourse with that country must have been.

Similar statements are found in Theophrastus; and likewise some remarkable particulars respecting the frankincense and spices there cultivated. "Frankincense, myrrh, and cassia," he observes, "grow in the Arabian districts of Saba and Adramotitis (Hadramaut;) frankincense and myrrh on the sides or at the foot of mountains, and in the neighbouring islands. The trees which produce them grow sometimes wild, though occasionally cultivated; that of the frankincense being somewhat taller than the myrrh. The land belongs

[4] EZEKIEL xxvii. 19—24, according to Michaelis's translation, whose remarks I must beg the reader to compare with what follows.

to the Sabeans, who regard the property as sacred, so that no one watches his trees. The harvested frankincense and myrrh was carried to a temple of the sun, the most holy among this nation, (always given to the idolatry of star-worship,) and guarded by armed Arabians. Each proprietor here set out his heap, placing upon it a ticket, on which was inscribed the quantity and price. Then came the merchant and deposited near each lot the price marked; after him followed the priest, who took one-third of this price for the deity, and left the remainder for the proprietor. The frankincense from the young trees is whitest, but least odoriferous, that of the more aged, yellow, but of stronger scent[5]."

The frankincense trade then was carried on under the protection of a sanctuary; it was also a kind of dumb trade, as is at this time the coffee trade in the same regions. "The frankincense grown on the main land was the most agreeable, but that of the neighbouring isles emitted the most powerful odour." Among these islands without doubt must be comprised the opposite Ethiopian peninsula of Zuila, now inhabited by the Samilis, who still, as I have shewn in another place, possess the frankincense trade.

The commerce of the Phœnicians, however, was not confined merely to southern Arabia, but stretched along the eastern coast on the Persian gulf:—"The sons of Daden carry on thy trade, and to large countries went thy merchandise;

[5] THEOPHRAST. Hist. Plant. ix. 4.

with horn, ivory, and ebony, did they requite thee for thy wares[6]." Daden is one of the Baharein islands on the Persian gulf, as will be fully shewn in the chapter on the commerce of the Babylonians; and on this island Phœnician settlements it is said have been discovered in the vicinity of the trading city, Gerra. But if these words of the prophet prove an intercourse between Phœnicia and the Persian gulf, they also prove not less indisputably the connexion in which the Phœnicians stood with India. The *large* countries to which the Phœnician trade extended beyond Daden could be no other than India; if this is not sufficiently proved by the situation, it is beyond a doubt by the commodities mentioned. Ivory and ebony could only have been procured in Daden from India, as there were no elephants in Arabia; and by the horn is probably meant the tusk of the narval, (or sea unicorn,) which is a native of the Indian sea[7].

Having settled the principal directions which the Phœnician-Arabian commerce took, it is now important that we should discover who were the intermediate agents by whom it was transacted, and the way and manner by which it was carried on.

It has already been shewn, that from the nature of the country this could only have been done by caravans. Let us now investigate by

[6] EZEKIEL xxvii. 15.

[7] MICHAELIS, l. c.

whom these were formed; from what point they started, and what route they travelled.

I have in another place observed, that the greater part of the caravans were usually formed by nomad tribes of herdsmen, who, from their mode of life, were much better adapted to it than the inhabitants of towns[9]. These remarks apply here, and are at once confirmed by the picture drawn by the prophet of the Tyrian land trade, in which we always see represented the nations *coming* and *bringing* their wares to the Tyrians; but never the latter going forth to fetch them. Tyre was, in this respect, much in the same situation as Carthage. She had in her neighbourhood numerous nomad nations, which she employed to transact her business. The Syrian and Arabian deserts were occupied by tribes of this description, who wandered about with their flocks and herds, and, living in their tents, acknowledged no authority but that of their sheiks and emirs. These formed the caravans, by letting or selling their numerous camels, with their guides and drivers, to the merchants. "Arabians, and all the emirs of the Kedarians traded with thee and brought thee dromedaries[1]." It seems, too, very naturally to follow, that from mere carriers these men would soon become dealers; and hence it is no way extraordinary

[9] See *General Introduction*, p. xxv. *African Nations*, vol. i.

[1] EZEKIEL xxvii. 21. Kedar, a tribe in the neighbourhood of Happy Arabia, always appears rich in cattle, and as trading with them. ISAIAH xx. 16, with the commentary of Gesenius.

to find among these nations certain tribes very opulent. Among the Arabian tribes, none appear to have cultivated the caravan trade earlier, or with more advantage, than the Midianites, who wandered on the northern boundaries of that country, and consequently in the neighbourhood of Phœnicia. It was to a caravan of Midianite merchants, which, laden with spicery, and balm, and myrrh, was journeying from Arabia into Egypt, that Joseph was sold[2]. The spoil which the Israelites took from this nation in gold was so prodigious as to excite our wonder; it was indeed so common among them, that not only their own ornaments, but even the collars of their camels were made of this precious metal[3].

But besides the Midianites there was another nation of northern Arabia, not less remarkable in the history of commerce, and which is also mentioned by the prophet, as one of the chief nations from whom the Phœnicians obtained the merchandise of the south: these were the Idumeans, or Edomites. "Edom also managed thy trade and thy great affairs; emeralds, purple, broidered work, cotton, bezoar, and precious stones, she gave thee for the wares, which thou deliveredst to her[4]." The Edomites, however, were certainly not nomads. They had, as we have already noticed, cities, as, for example, the sea-

[2] GENESIS xxxvii. 28.
[3] JUDGES viii. 21. 26. GENESIS xxxi. 47—53.
[4] EZEK. xxvi. 16.

ports of Eloth and Ezion-Geber, (now Acaba,) and others deeper in the land, as Bussra and Petra. The wares enumerated by the prophet seem to be mostly Indian and Arabian; to these belong the precious stones, pearls, and purple, by which we must here understand that of India[5]. These therefere the Edomites bought of the caravans, and brought them to Tyre and the other Phœnician cities. The cotton and broidered work might probably have come from Egypt.

All these nomad tribes roving about northern Arabia were comprized by the Greeks under the name of Nabathian Arabs, which, though then applied to the inhabitants of the north of Arabia in general, properly belongs only to those of the important district of Hedjas. Diodorus, who describes very elegantly their manner of life, does not forget their caravan trade to Yemen. "No small number of them," he says[6], "follow the business of carrying to the Mediterranean frankincense, myrrh, and other costly spices, which they purchase of persons who bring them from Happy Arabia." According to this account, it appears that they did not travel to Yemen themselves, but obtained their goods of the caravans which came from that country, in order to carry them still further. Both systems, however, might very well have existed together; for the merchant changes the conductor of his wares upon the route, accordingly as he may find opportunity or

[5] See MICHAELIS, l. c.

[6] DIOD. ii. p. 390.

have occasion. It is nevertheless plain, from the description of the prophet, that caravans were formed in Arabia itself to journey into Phœnicia; for he expressly asserts, that merchants from Javan and Wadan had brought the wares of Yemen to Tyre[1].

We find the same things to have happened in Arabia that obtained in the Carthaginian dominions and Egypt: the great markets for the merchandise which the caravans exported were on the borders of the desert. Thus, in the territory of Edom, in a situation fixed by nature herself, Petra grew into opulence, and gave its name to the whole of North-west Arabia[2]. Here became accumulated, in great abundance and in security, a great variety of wares brought from the southern regions; such, for example, as were the property of these nomad races themselves, and which they exchanged with the Phœnicians and others for articles of clothing and the necessaries of life. This place also has been visited by Burckhardt[3], Banks, and Legh[4]. According to Diodorus, it was three

[1] EZEKIEL xxvii. 19. Wadan and Javan, both cities of Yemen. See MICHAELIS, l. c.

[2] Now *Karak;* in JOSEPHUS, iv. 4, *Rekam;* the present Selah, 30° 20′ N. L. 36° east longitude. According to the recent maps of Syria by Paultre, it is, at the present time, a place where many caravan roads meet: care must be taken not to confound it with Moba-Carrak, to the east of the Dead sea, to which the name of Carrak has been given improperly. In the neighbourhood is Mount Hor, a place resorted to by pilgrims, and where is shewn the grave of Aaron.

[3] BURCKHARDT'S Travels in Syria and the Holy Land, p. 422, etc.

[4] Their narratives will be found appended to MAC MICHAEL'S *Journey from Moscow to Constantinople.*

hundred stadia from the southern extremity of the Red Sea[5]; and it seems therefore scarcely doubtful that it must be sought somewhere near *Wadi Muta,* (the valley of Moses,) so celebrated for its ruins. The description given of it by Burchardt confirms the statement of Diodorus. By cutting through the solid rocks, a way has been made into a narrow valley, through which flows little streams; while the overhanging rocks often intercept the sight of the heavens. A handful of resolute men might here maintain themselves against an army. Where this valley begins to open lay the ancient city of Petra. The ruins of buildings found here are no earlier than the time of the Romans; but temples, and numerous sepulchres hewn out of the rock, are probably of a more remote origin[6]. Even as early as the times of Alexander, Petra was the staple of the Arabians for their spice and frankincense trade. At that time a great fair was held in its neighbourhood[7], which there is no reason to doubt had been established at a much earlier period. Demetrius Poliorcetes attempted, at the command of his father Antigonus, to fall upon the merchants here in a treacherous manner, and to plunder them of their wealth, but the attempt failed[8].

If the foregoing remarks have shewn, in a

[5] DIOD. l. c.

[6] MAC MICHAEL, p. 228. Prudence unfortunately prevented Burckhardt from accurately examining these ruins.

[7] DIOD. l. c.

[8] DIOD. l. c.

general manner, the extent and activity of Arabian commerce, they must naturally have excited a desire in the reader to know the routes by which it was carried on. Had we in this case the description of a caravan road, such as Herodotus has left us of the one through the interior of Africa, our curiosity might be easily gratified; this however fails us, and the few obscure traces of one, which may be found in Strabo, only afford us data for the settlement of some individual places. This writer mentions at least one of the intervening stations, which the caravans from Arabia Felix usually passed through, and determines the time which the journey occupied. They consumed seventy days in going from Yemen to Petra, and passed in their route a place named *Albus Pagus*, (*Λευκὴ κώμη* of the Greeks, and the *Havra* or Avara of the Arabians[9]. This place is situated on the Arabian gulf, under 25° N. Lat. on the boundaries of the fertile country of Nejed, belonging to central Arabia. Hence it is evident that the caravan road extended along the Arabian gulf, most probably touched upon Mecca, the ancient Macoraba, and so arrived at the frontiers of Arabia Felix. By this route the caravans would enjoy the advantage of passing through fertile regions in the midst of their journey; while, deeper in the interior, they would have had to traverse long and dreary sandy deserts. The number of days' journey agrees very well with the distance. From Ma-

[9] STRAB. p. 1113.

riaba to Petra is reckoned at about 1,260 geographical miles, which, divided by sixteen, the ordinary distance which caravans travel in a day, amounts to seventy.

This same writer has left us also some few particulars respecting the trading routes of eastern Arabia. It was the inhabitants of the city of Gerra on the Persian Gulf, who more especially carried on the caravan trade. They kept up a commercial intercourse with the marts of Hadramaut, the journey to which occupied forty days, the road stretching right across the great sandy desert in the south-east of the peninsula, and not along the coast. The distance in a direct line from Hadramaut to Gerra is not less than from six hundred and fifty to seven hundred miles, and would consequently require a forty days' journey.

Besides this, there existed, as we learn from the words of the prophet, a direct intercourse between the eastern coast of the peninsula and Gerra and Phœnicia. For, he says, the merchants of Daden brought the merchandise of the Persian gulf to Tyre [7], whose route, consequently, must have run through the north-eastern part of the land. This fact is still further proved by a passage from Isaiah, who, when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion, forgets not to mention the interruption which it would cause to its commerce. "In the wilderness of Arabia ye will be benighted. Oh, ye caravans of Daden! To

[7] EZEK. xxvii. 15.

the thirsty bring out water, inhabitants of Tema; bring forth bread for the fugitives! For they fly before the sword and before the fury of war[8]." The trading caravans of Daden, which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed, were to be driven from their usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable tribe of Tema, out of compassion, would bring them water and bread. Tema was situated on the western border of the fertile province of Nejed[9], by which therefore the road passed. From this road the caravans were to be compelled to turn, in order to hide themselves in the desert.

Thus we learn the *usual* caravan road which led from Gerra to Tyre; that it was the only one is not here asserted. There must have been a time when the interior of Arabia, of which we are now so ignorant, was well known; and this is proved by the number of places mentioned by Ptolemy[1]. Whether or not this knowledge had descended from the Phœnicians, it is impossible to determine: perhaps it will not be thought improbable. In the investigation of the commerce of Babylon, it will however be more clearly

[8] ISAIAH xxi. 13—15, with GESENIUS'S *Commentary*. These passages of the prophets are of the greater importance from the seldomness with which caravans are mentioned by historical writers. It is from them, and not from the historians, that may be gathered the extent of the commerce of the ancient world.

[9] 27° N. Lat.; see GESENIUS'S *Commentary on Isaiah*, i. 657.

[1] Many caravan roads in the interior of Arabia are marked upon the map to D. BREHMER'S *Entdeckungen, etc.* I shall notice them in the appendix upon the ancient commercial routes. The starting points are the same as laid down above.

proved, that the eastern coast of Arabia did not less abound in staples for Arabian, as well as Indian merchandise, than the southern. It requires therefore scarcely any further proof, that it also contained trading routes upon which this merchandise might be transported to the shores of the Mediterranean, or at least to the marts of Arabia Petræa.

Should it appear from what has been advanced that this Arabia Petræa—the boundary country between the desert and the fertile regions —was the district in which the Arabian caravans were formed, and where the great staples for their wares were found, let it be allowed me, further, to add a single conjecture upon the way in which it was forwarded from this place to the great seaports of the Phœnicians; as it seems probable, that by this may be cleared up, what hitherto has been a very obscure passage in Herodotus. I mean that in which he describes the sea coast of Phœnicia, as far as the frontiers of Egypt[2]. "From Phœnicia to the boundaries of the city Cadytis, stretch the country of the Syrians of Palestine, (the Jews). From Cadytis, a city which does not seem to me to be much smaller than Sardis, as far as Jenysus, lie, on the sea coast, the Arabian staples. The country from Jenysus to lake Sirbonis and to the Casian mountains, where Egypt begins, belong again to

[2] HEROD. iii. 5. Cadytis I take to be Jerusalem. The expression ἐμπόρια τοῦ Ἀραβίου, according to the connexion, can have no other sense than that given above.

the Syrians. This is no small district, but three days' journey long; it is in other respects a waterless desert."

These Arabian staples on the Mediterranean are mentioned by no other writer but Herodotus; and the passage is more remarkable from his so determinately distinguishing between the Arabians, and Syrians, and Jews. But does it not seem highly probable, that the principal and particular business of these seaports, among which I include Gaza and Ascalon, was to ship the merchandise brought by the Arabian and Egyptian caravans, and to transport it along the coast to Tyre and the other large Phœnician cities? This, though only a conjecture with regard to these early times, is a certainty as regards the period of the Ptolemies; for the city of Rhinocolura, which, if it did not form one of these very cities, lay in the same neighbourhood, is expressly mentioned as a seaport, to which a great portion of the wares of Arabia were brought from Petra, in order to be shipped off for their further destination[3].

Modern travellers, first Seetzra[4], then Burchardt[5], and, finally, Bankes and Buckingham[6], have brought to light the remains of the cities east of the lake Tiberias and the Dead sea, (the ancient Decapolis and Havra,) comprised be-

[3] STRAB. p. 1128.

[4] In extracts from his letters; *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1808, B. 17, 18.

[5] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by J. L. BURCKHARDT. Lond. 1822, with maps.

[6] BUCKINGHAM'S *Travels in Palestine*, 1823.

tween 32°—33°. N. Lat. The magnificent ruins of Gerasa, (Dsieres,) Gadara, and Philadelphia, (Amman,) some of which are little inferior to those of Palmyra. Decayed temples, colonades, and amphitheatres, shew the former grandeur and opulence of these cities, when they were the seats of the Indian-Arabian commerce. So far however as these ruins have been made known to us, they belong altogether to a later period, that of the Antonines; while in those of Palmyra, among the vestiges of this, are discovered some of an earlier period: on this account the former do not come within the scope of this inquiry.

From the foregoing observations the following results may be deduced.

First. It is clear that Arabia was the great seat of the Phœnician land-trade, and that with this was interwoven a connexion with the rich countries of the south, Ethiopia and India. Notwithstanding the vast deserts of sand, which protected Arabia from the attacks of foreign conquerors, the merchant's desire of gain was not damped, but surmounted every difficulty. Caravans, composed of various tribes, penetrated through its wastes in every direction, even to its southern and eastern coasts[7]; here they traded, either directly or indirectly, with the Phœnicians, whose seaports became at last the great staples of their valuable merchandise, whence it was

[7] See the sublime description of ISAIAH lx. 6—9, in which the prophet represents the caravans as whole tribes, which should come to Jerusalem instead of going to Tyre.

shipped off, and spread over the west at an immense profit to these merchants.

Secondly. This commerce must have been the more lucrative, as it was, according to the very clear statement of Ezekiel, altogether carried on by barter. It is everywhere spoken of as an exchange of merchandise against merchandise, and even the precious metals are only considered as such. What an immense profit the Phœnician merchant must have made of his Spanish silver mines, by exchanging their produce for gold in Yemen, where this metal was so abundant? What a profit he must have had on other wares, which the Arabians in a manner were obliged to take of him, and in which he had no competitor? While, however, the Phœnician had no rival to compete with, he established, as it were, one among the Arabians, by procuring the commodities they sold from every country in which they were to be obtained, by which means he prevented the Arab merchants from fixing an arbitrary price upon their goods. If driven to it, he could do without the merchants of Saba or Aden, since he could obtain the same wares from Gerra; and had the merchants of Gerra attempted to overcharge him, they would as soon have been supplanted by those of Yemen.

Thirdly. The intercourse with Arabia must have been greatly facilitated by the similarity of the languages of the two nations. These were only dialects of one same language[8]; and though

[8] See vol. i. (*Persians,*) p. 71.

differences might occur, yet there scarcely could have been any difficulty in making each other understood. What an advantage to the Phœnician merchant, to be able, in the mutual intercourse with these distant regions, to make use of his native tongue, instead of being at the mercy of treacherous interpreters. This advantage alone would have sufficed to secure him the exclusive commerce of Arabia, even if the situation of the country had not made it almost impossible for any foreign nation to compete with him.

The commerce of the Phœnicians with Egypt must be considered as a second branch of their southern land trade. Their intercourse with this nation was one of the earliest they formed, as Herodotus expressly assures us, that the exportation of Assyrian and Egyptian wares was the first business they carried on[1]. Their early acquaintance with Egypt, too, comes before us even in the patriarchal age; as every one knows from the Mosaic records. And when it is remembered that Egypt at all times enjoyed the principal land trade of Africa, as I have shewn in the portion of my work relating to that country, it would indeed seem surprising if no intercourse had subsisted between two such great neighbouring commercial nations. Still more positive information, however, respecting its existence is given by Ezekiel, who, in his picture of Tyrian commerce, forgets not that with Egypt, but even enumerates the wares

[1] HEROD. i. 1.

which Tyre obtained from the banks of the Nile. "Fine cottons and embroidered work from Egypt spreadest thou over thy pavilions; dark blue and purple from the Peloponnesus were thy coverings[1]." In my researches on the Egyptians, I have shewn that weaving was one of their principal occupations, and that cotton was a native of their soil. Embroideries of cotton, and with cotton, were common in Egypt, and considered as masterpieces of art; as is proved by the linen corslet embroidered with cotton thread, which Amasis presented to Polycrates of Samos[2]. Corn, the other great product of Egypt, was only procured from that country upon extraordinary occasions; as Palestine and Syria furnished it of an excellent quality. It is proved, however, that it was fetched from thence, in cases of emergency, by the caravan journey of the sons of Jacob into Egypt.

Some particulars, too, have been preserved respecting the form and manner of the commercial intercourse between the Egyptians and Phœnicians. It was carried on by land and not by sea, for the entrance to Egypt by the latter was forbidden to foreigners previous to the reign of Amasis. The first trace of this commerce is found in the earliest tradition of the expedition of the Tyrian Hercules. "After the victory over Anteus, he went into Egypt, and there destroyed the tyrant Busiris, who dyed his hands

[1] EZEK. xxvii. 7.
[2] HEROD. iii. 47.

in the blood of all strangers[3]." I cheerfully resign to my readers the easy and agreeable task of unveiling the sense which is enveloped under this beautiful mythos; who sees not that civilization is the thing here meant? and that Busiris, being one of the ancient kings of Thebes, this tradition refers to the Phœnician commerce with Upper Egypt, (one of the most ancient land trades of the world,) where the hundred-gated Thebes was the capital, and at the same time the principal seat of the commerce of interior Africa, as I have proved in the Researches upon the Egyptians?

With the domestic revolutions of Egypt, the seat of Phœnician trade became changed. Thebes no longer remained its chief mart, but the later capital, Memphis. Here was established a colony of Phœnicians; as an entire quarter of the city was inhabited by their merchants[4]. These facts are surely sufficient to prove how extensive their transactions must have been with this nation.

One of the principal articles exported by the Phœnicians to Egypt was wine, which this country did not at that time produce. Twice a year large cargoes of this were shipped from Phœnicia and Greece. The earthen vessels, in which, according to the custom of the ancient world, it was contained, were applied to an extraordinary purpose by the Persians, when they ruled in this country. They were placed as

[3] DIOD. i. p. 263.
[4] HEROD. ii. 112.

cisterns in the three days' desert, which divided Syria from Egypt, in order to make the communication easier for strangers[5].

The second great branch of the Phœnician land trade spread towards the east. It includes their commerce with Syria and Palestine, with Babylon and Assyria, and with the countries of eastern Asia.

Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians. Their own mountainous territory was but little adapted for agriculture, while Palestine produced corn in such abundance, as to be able to supply them plentifully with this first necessary of life. "Judah and the land of Israel traded with thee; corn of Minnith, honey of raisins, oil, and balm, gave they to thee for thy wares[6]." The corn of Judea was the best known. It excelled even that of Egypt. It was not therefore merely the proximity of the country which led the Egyptians to prefer this market. The other productions, also mentioned by the prophet, are among those which the Holy Land was famous for producing of a superior quality. The strong vine, which has been native in this country from time immemorial, afforded them an abundance of delicious grapes. The oil of Palestine, as we are informed by a modern traveller, even still excels that of Provence, notwithstanding the sunken state of culture under Turkish despotism. The balm was collected in the lands about lake Geneza-

[5] See HEROD. iii. 5, 6.

[6] EZEKIEL xxvii. 17. For what follows, see the remarks of Michaelis.

reth; and is of the same sort as that still in high repute, under the name of balsam of Mecca[6].

The fact, that Palestine was the granary of the Phœnicians, explains, too, in the clearest manner, the good understanding and lasting peace that prevailed between these two nations. It is a striking feature in the Jewish history, that with all other nations around them, they lived in a state of almost continual warfare; and that under David and Solomon they even became conquerors, and subdued considerable countries; and yet with their nearest neighbours, the Phœnicians, they never engaged in hostilities. But if a sense of their weakness prevented them from attacking these mighty cities, the natural policy of the Phœnicians no less, on the other hand, restrained them from any hostile attempt on a country from which they drew their subsistence: to which it may be added, that it seems to have been a maxim among them to avoid all wars and forcible extension of their dominions upon the continent of Asia.

Syria proper, also, supplied its various productions, according to the nature of the different parts of the country,—accordingly as it was adapted for agriculture, the cultivation of the vine, or merely to the nomad life and the breeding of cattle. "Damascus traded with thee on account of thy great riches, and the multitude of thy wares; and brought thee wine from Cha-

[6] THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Plant.* ix. 6.

lybon, and wool from the wilderness[7]." The wine of Chalybon, probably the modern Aleppo, was the best that Asia afforded, or at least was esteemed as such. It was the only sort which was served at the table of the Persian kings, whose custom it was, only to admit to their board the greatest delicacies that each province of their empire brought forth[8]. If it be considered that the vine at this period was naturalized neither in Africa nor in the west of Europe, the conjecture will appear more probable, that wine in general was one of the most important commodities of Phœnician sea trade, as it could only be transported on land by waggons, and not upon beasts of burden.

The wool of the wilderness was one of the wares supplied by the pastoral tribes, who wandered with their flocks as well over the Syrian as over the Arabian deserts[9]. The fleece of these sheep is the finest known; it is improved by the heat of the climate, the continual exposure to the open air, and the care that these people bestow upon their flocks, which constitute their only business, all of which help to render it more precious[1]. The Arabian sheep, distinguished from the European by their immense tails, were known to Herodotus, who has left us a description of them[2]. "Arabia likewise possesses two

[7] EZEKIEL xxvii. 18.

[8] See the chapter on the Internal Government of the Persians.

[9] EZEKIEL xxvii. 18. 21.

[1] See MICHAELIS, on the Wandering Shepherds, in his *Vermischten Schriften*, B. i. s. 6.

[2] HEROD. iii. 113.

extraordinary breeds of sheep, neither of which is found elsewhere. One of these has long tails, not less than three cubits; and were they suffered to drag them behind them, they would become sore by rubbing against the ground. The shepherds therefore make small carriages, and fasten them under the tails, to each animal one. The other kind of sheep have broad tails, each full an ell in width."

Herodotus only errs in taking a mere variety for a distinct species; all the other circumstances he here mentions are known to modern naturalists and travellers. A moment's reflection upon Tyrian manufacture of woven goods and their dyes, will enable the reader at once to perceive the great importance of this branch of commerce. It converted the very wilderness, so far as they were concerned, into an opulent country, which afforded them the finest and most precious raw materials for their most important manufactures. This circumstance, too, was a means of cementing and preserving a good understanding between them and these nomad tribes; a matter of no inconsiderable consequence to the Phœnicians, as it was through them, that the rich produce of the southern regions came into their hands.

The great point, however, to which the trade of the Phœnicians was directed in the east, was Babylon. That a very active commerce was carried on with this flourishing city, even before it forcibly obtained the dominion of Asia and

subjected Phœnicia itself, no one can doubt, who is acquainted with the situation and manners of the two nations; and yet, however astonishing it may seem, we have less information respecting this very important branch of trade than upon almost every other. Still we have the positive testimony of Herodotus, that it was one of the most ancient. "At the beginning, they exported Egyptian and Assyrian wares (the latter comprising the Babylonian) to the Mediterranean[2]". The prophet also mentions this commerce, but, like Herodotus, only in a general manner, and without at all setting forth its nature and objects[3]. It probably happened, that it was frequently interrupted by the great revolutions of interior Asia, in which Babylon itself often necessarily participated; it must however soon have revived, when the trade of Babylon itself again began to flourish.

In proportion, however, as the silence of history upon this interesting subject is remarkable, the conjecture is strengthened, that the trading route between Babylon and Tyre lay through a long uninterrupted desert; the natural consequence of which would be, that, even supposing it not purposely concealed, this commerce would have become but little known. But even in this desert itself are found vestiges which seem to denote its course and magnitude: the ruins of Palmyra and Balbeck; probably links of the

[2] HEROD. i. 1.

[3] EZEKIEL xxvii. 23. Assur and Chilmad were also thy merchants.

commercial chain which connected Tyre and Babylon[4].

The magnificent remains of these two cities have only been made known within the last century, by the publication of two celebrated works, in which they are represented by engravings. Of Palmyra, indeed, it may in some measure be asserted, that it was not discovered till within this period[5]. The form of the buildings which are left, shew at the first glance that they have no claim to the antiquity of Thebes and Persepolis, but belong rather to the Greek-Macedonian, and a considerable part of them even to the Roman period; it is not however less certain, that the foundation of both cities must be carried much farther back than the origin of their existing remains.

The Jewish annals ascribe the building of both cities to Solomon. "He built Baalath and Tadmor in the desert[6]." Baalath, the temple of the sun, is the same with Balbeck, the valley of the sun; which name has been given it because the city was built in a valley. The first name is also expressed by the Greek appellation, *Helio-*

[4] The first of these lay in the fruitful valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, consequently not within Phœnicia proper. Palmyra, on the contrary, was situated in the midst of the Syrian desert, three days' journey from the Euphrates, upon one of those gems of the desert, or oases, which I have described with more detail in the volumes upon Africa, 33½° N. Lat. Its abundance of palms gave it its name, though this tree of the wilderness is no longer to be found there.

[5] See the two well-known works, *Ruins of Palmyra*, and *the Ruins of Balbeck*, in the preface to which will be found collected the principal historical data for the history of both cities.

[6] 1 KINGS ix. 18.

polis. Tadmor, or Thadamora, is one of the common Syrian names of Palmyra.

If it be believed, from the high antiquity of this city, that it was built just at the time when the land trade of the Phœnicians, and especially of the new island city of Tyre, was so rapidly spreading, it must be admitted that a share in this trade entered exactly into the views of Solomon their builder, as is shewn from the navigation to Ophir. Their lying, too, exactly in the direction of Babylon; and the great highway of eastern commerce running, certainly at a later period, through them, and thus became the cause of their magnitude and splendour, render it at least highly probable, that they had fulfilled the same destination in earlier times. Even now, according to Seetzen, all the commercial roads from Damascus to the Euphrates, run by Palmyra, where they first divide[7]. This indeed is the path prescribed by nature herself. Taking this for granted, Balbeck may be considered as the point of departure; it being the general custom of the east for caravans to assemble at some distance from the chief city. In three days they reached Emesa, (Hems,) another celebrated city of Syria, on the borders of the desert. The distance through this sea of sand then required from four to five days to bring the traveller in sight of Palmyra. From this oasis to the Euphrates again required a journey of from three to four days to bring the caravan to Thap-

[7] *Monatliche Correspondenz*, 1808, S. 508.

sacus, where it usually crossed over this stream. On the opposite side, the travellers had the choice of either following the course of the river, or of passing through the steppes of Mesopotamia[8].

Whether, however, this is now the usual route or not, the commercial intercourse between Tyre and Babylon will not be the less certain; but this is not the case with regard to the more distant countries of Asia. I shall reserve the investigation of this matter to the next book, on the trade of Babylon. I trust, I shall in that be able to make it appear that the Phœnicians, either directly or indirectly, procured the productions of the much more remote regions of the world.

We have now only to consider the third, and least branch of Phœnician land trade, which would have remained entirely unknown had it not been casually mentioned by the prophet. No Greek writer, that I am acquainted with, has left the least information respecting it. "Tubal and Meshech traded with thee, and gave thee slaves and vessels of brass for thy wares. Togarmah gave thee horses of common and noble breeds, and mules, for thy wares[9]." The geographical difficulties to which these names give rise have been cleared away by Bochart and Michaelis[1]. There can be no doubt, that Tubal

[8] This route is also marked upon PAULTRE'S *Map of Syria*, which describes both the ancient and modern caravan roads.

[9] EZEKIEL xxvii. 13, 14.

[1] BOCHART, p. 200, 207. MICHAEL. *Spicileg.* i. 44, 67.

and Meshech denoted the regions lying between the Black and Caspian seas: the abode of the Tibarenians and Mosches, and probably also the Cappodocians. With regard to Togarmah, conjecture runs very strong in favour of its being Armenia. The probability of the truth of these conjectures is much augmented by the fact, that the wares enumerated are exactly such as these regions produce. Cappadocia, together with the Caucasian districts, from the very earliest times, was the chief seat of the slave trade, and always continued so in the ancient world. The finest race of men have always been preferred; and it is very generally known, that at the present time the harems of the Turkish and Persian nobility are peopled with the most beautiful of the Georgians and Circassians. The speculating spirit of the Phœnicians soon found a way to these countries, and knew very well how to take advantage of the prevailing taste in this merchandise. Their commerce in this detestable branch of trade was very extensive. The prophets bitterly reproach them for dealing in boys and girls, even in those of their neighbours the Jews, and for selling them to the Greeks; and predict that they should be punished for this offence, and their own children sold to the Sabeans[2].

[2] The principal authorities are the prophet JOEL iii. 1—8, with the remarks of Michaelis, and GESENIUS *in Isaiah* xxiii., I. 708. See also AMOS i. 9, where the slave trade is enumerated among the transgressions of Tyre.

The mines of these regions, however, were probably a still greater attraction; and one which their whole history shews they could not withstand. The prophet mentions numerous vessels of copper: and perhaps the reader may call to mind the evidence of a later witness, Xenophon, who, in his expedition through the country of the Carduchians, was astonished at the great quantity of metal household utensils which these people possessed; and which therefore, for many previous centuries, had been an object of Phœnician commerce. These countries abound in copper as much now as they did in antiquity. It forms the principal article of their trade with Bagdad and Basra; household utensils are commonly made of it, and scarcely any other profession is so common in those countries as that of coppersmiths.

Armenia, finally, is also recognised by its wares. It is described as a land abounding in horses; and in this respect, as well as in the distinction which the prophet makes between those of an inferior and a more esteemed breed, no country of Asia agrees so well as Armenia. In the nobler race we at once identify the Nyssean horses, the stately coursers of antiquity, no less celebrated for their colour and the splendour of their hides than for their beautiful symmetry; they were alone deemed worthy to draw the cars of the Persian monarchs.

To conclude, it is evident that this northern trade also was not carried on with money, but

by barter. It was not necessary here, however, to have recourse to caravans. The way lay through inhabited and civilized countries, which might in part be traversed upon the royal highways running from Upper Asia to Sardis and the Mediterranean, which in the following pages will be accurately described.

BABYLONIANS.

BABYLONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

General view of the country and its inhabitants.

AND THEY SAID, COME, LET US BUILD A CITY AND A TOWER, WHOSE TOP MAY REACH UNTO HEAVEN. AND THE LORD CAME DOWN TO SEE THE CITY AND THE TOWER WHICH THE CHILDREN OF MEN BUILDED. GENESIS xi. 4, 5.

FEW countries of antiquity have so just a claim to the attention of the historian as Babylonia. However the writers of the eastern and western empires may have exaggerated the wonders of the capital, the country itself is distinguished by striking peculiarities from all others in this quarter of the globe. In no other did the cultivation of the earth by the industry and exertions of its inhabitants make such rapid progress; and in no other was industry more richly rewarded[1]. Notwithstanding the numerous revolutions it underwent, and the devastations of the barbarous conquerors who invaded it, Babylonia, unlike every other country of the earth, presented an astonishing succession of flourishing cities,

[1] HEROD. i. 193.

which, like the Phœnix, seemed to arise from the ashes and ruins of their own destruction. In the earliest records of the human race, the name of Babylon appears as the primeval seat of political society, and the cradle of civilization[2]. And this name endured great and renowned for a long succession of ages. At last, when Babylon declined—just at the time when, according to the projects of the Macedonian conqueror, it was destined to form the capital of all Asia, and the central point of his new monarchy—Selucia sprung up and flourished near it on the Tigris: ere this city fell, it was eclipsed by Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire: when both these were destroyed by the conquering Arabs, the royal cities of Bagdad and Ormus arose in their place; and the last glimmer, as it were, of the ancient splendour of Babylon seems still to hover over the half ruined Bassora.

Under these different points of view, Babylonia appears as one of the principal countries of Asia, and the most important on the globe. But its internal condition and physical peculiarities are so striking and remarkable, that we are compelled to take a survey of them before we turn our attention to its inhabitants.

Babylonia, or Chaldea[3], was situated between

[2] GENESIS x. 8—10.

[3] A distinction, it must be observed, is sometimes made between Babylonia and Chaldea; the latter comprising the south, and the former the northern division. Usually, however, and certainly more correctly, they were considered as synonymous, the Chaldeans having taken possession of the whole country.

the Euphrates and the Tigris, the former bounding it on the west, and the latter on the east. A description of these two rivers must precede our account of this country, because it is from their peculiar properties that it derives its own.

Both these streams rise in Armenia, and, after pursuing their course from north to south, fall into the Persian gulf[1]. But as the plain between these rivers has a considerable fall towards the east, the western river, the Euphrates, has a much higher bed than the Tigris. Its level banks are generally filled to the brink with the mighty mass of waters which roll between them, so that the least increase causes an overflow. The Tigris, on the contrary, has a much deeper channel, with bolder shores, over which it seldom or never passes, although its current is much more rapid than that of the Euphrates. At a certain period of the year, however, from the snow melting in the mountains of Armenia, this latter river, like the Nile, constantly inundates the surrounding country. To set bounds to the frequent inundations of so large a stream in a completely level country, was certainly not an easy, though an indispensable undertaking. Like the people dwelling on the banks of the Egyptian river, the Babylonians had to wrest their country from the invasions of the flood. And the efforts this required seem to have developed their genius, and to have given an impulse to the progress of civilization and the arts among them, for

[1] See ARRIAN. vii. 7, for the following particulars.

which they were scarcely less celebrated than the Egyptians.

In the warm and dry climate of Babylon, it was not sufficient merely to restrain the floods, there was likewise the proper irrigation of the soil to be cared for.

It is in this twofold point of view that we must consider the arrangements made by the inhabitants to subjugate this river: a labour certainly lightened by the dikes, canals, lakes, and marshes, which nature itself had formed, though all these required the assistance and improvement of art.

The whole of Babylonia was intersected by a variety of large and small canals; some running right across the country from one river to the other, and answering the double purpose of a communication between them, and the irrigation of the soil; while others were formed solely for the latter object[5]. These canals began above Babylonia proper, in Mesopotamia; four of the largest, running from the Tigris to the Euphrates, being found north of the Median wall, about two miles and a half apart, and sufficiently broad and deep to be navigable for ships of burden. One of them was made use of by Artaxerxes as a line of defence when his brother Cyrus marched against him.

There seems but little doubt, that these canals were designed, like the Median wall, to prevent the inroads of the nomad hordes. Sup-

[5] HEROD. i. 193, may be consulted for what follows, and more especially XENOPH. *Anab.* i.

posing that the Medes had effected a passage over this wall, and penetrated into Babylonia proper, they would still have found themselves arrested by two great canals, extending from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and from which a multitude of smaller ones branched off, for the purpose of irrigation. These latter, which seem however not to have reached to the Euphrates, were nevertheless so deep and broad, that Xenophon, at the head of the ten thousand, could only pass them by means of bridges; and even then had just cause to fear, lest he should be surrounded. Still nearer Babylon was situated the grand, or royal canal, running from the Euphrates to the Tigris, and of sufficient breadth and depth to be navigable for merchant vessels[6]. It is impossible to determine the number of these canals; for, according to the testimony of Herodotus, the whole land was intersected by them, from their being everywhere indispensable for the watering of the soil. He relates as a curious fact, that the Euphrates, which had formerly flowed to the sea in almost a direct line, had been rendered so serpentine in its windings by the number of canals dug above Babylon, that in its passage to the city it passed three times the Assyrian village of Ardericca, and certainly on three different days[7].

It is evident from this passage of Herodotus, that Ardericca lay above Babylon; and that the

[6] HEROD. l. c.

[7] HEROD. i. 185.

great aim of this laborious undertaking was to defend the country from the incursions of the Medes, and to facilitate the navigation of the vessels in their descent from the higher countries. Hence it seems highly probable that these alterations were made in the districts where the bed of the Euphrates is full of rocks and sandbanks[8]; and that they formed an immense series of sluices and floodgates, making the river navigable, but at the same time so lengthening it, both by the time occupied in going through the numerous locks, and by the numerous windings of the canal, as to make it a three days' voyage to pass the village of Ardericca. But all that seems extraordinary in passing by the same place three times vanishes, if it be considered that the canal was cut in this zigzag manner, to diminish the fall occasioned by the steepness of the land. Thus the two outer branches of the canal, in passing to and fro, touched the two extreme points of the village; while the centre also passed by it, which fully explains the length of the voyage; while the time it occupied may be accounted for, by the delay occasioned in passing the great number of locks. This, to be sure, is no more than a conjecture, but it seems a more probable one, than that which makes the length of the canal alone require a navigation of three days' duration[9].

[8] BUSCHING'S *Asia*, 239.

[9] See a treatise by BREIGER, *Descriptio Asiæ Herodoti*, an essay which gained the prize in the university of Gottingen in 1793. The name of

Besides canals, the Babylonians had recourse to dams, for the regulating of the power of the current. Some of these were so ancient, that their first erection is ascribed to Semiramis, to whom it has been customary to attribute most of the great works of Asia, whose authors are unknown[1]. But according to Herodotus, queen Nitocris raised on both sides of the river new embankments of an extraordinary height and thickness, for which purpose the earth was made use of that had been dug up in the formation of an artificial lake; while in the interior of the city were built quays or banks of stone, such as are found in most of the capitals of Europe, situated upon large rivers or the sea shore.

Though the construction of these dams and canals seems to have required almost incredible labour, yet what is told us of the lakes of Babylon is still more extraordinary, and, on account of the discrepancies in the information, still more difficult to explain. It would be nothing uncommon for the overflowings of such mighty rivers as the Euphrates and Tigris to have formed lakes in various districts; and, unless we take for granted there were a great number of such lakes in Babylon, a conjecture which a cursory

Ardericca has led to the conjecture, that it is the present Akkercuf, above Bagdad, where yet is found a large ruin of bricks, in the Babylonian style of building, which Kerr Porter has minutely described. PORTER'S *Travels*, ii. 277. Akkerkuf however lies on the Tigris, not the Euphrates, as Ardericca did; a difficulty which would not be got over, though it should be granted, that a triple canal here ran from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

[1] HEROD. i. 184.

examination of the ancient writers tends to confirm, it will be impossible to reconcile their various statements. The enterprising spirit of the inhabitants, however, combined with their industry and skill, soon discovered the means of rendering these lakes useful, as they did also, in part, the canals, by turning into them the overplus waters of the Euphrates; and to effect this, they had only to perfect the work began by nature, by the making of deep excavations, and the formation of sluices. The first of these lakes, which is described by Herodotus, and attributed to Nitocris, was at a considerable distance from the capital in the northern part of Babylonia. It was at least fifty miles in circumference, and lay at a small distance from the river. The earth dug out of this lake served for the embankments of the river, but the lake itself was faced by a stone and mortar enclosure. An undertaking such as this would appear colossal, even though it were but an extension of the work of nature, and confined to the enlarging the lake, already formed by the overflowings of the river, and giving it a solid boundary; and this appears from Herodotus to be precisely what took place. They dug down, he says, till they came to stagnant water. Into this lake, which usually resembled a morass, they could introduce the waters of the Euphrates by means of a canal; and it was by doing this that Cyrus conquered Babylon, when he forced his way into the city by the bed of this river.

This lake must not be confounded with the lakes or swamps formed by the Euphrates near ancient Babylon. The western quarter of the capital was entirely surrounded by these, which formed a natural barrier, and serving instead of wall and ramparts rendered Babylon on this side inaccessible[2]. Alexander, who, in order to nullify a disastrous prophesy, was desirous of making his entry into his future capital on this side, was obliged to renounce his wish, in spite of all his exertions, and to take the common way[3]. The necessity to which the Babylonians were driven of building large quays in the interior of the city, is a proof that these lakes had been formed by the natural operation of the river, before its current had been restrained. It was probably these that led Alexander to conceive the design of forming a harbour near Babylon, which should be worthy the capital of his empire, and capable of containing a thousand large ships[4].

There was another third great work of the same kind, wholly different from the lakes above mentioned, about forty-five miles below Babylon, and about one hundred and thirty from the mouth of the Euphrates. In this district the lands on the west of the river were low and marshy,

[2] ARRIAN. vii. 17. An excellent map of ancient Babylonia will be found in RENNEL'S *Geography to Herodotus*, in which, with some slight variations, are noted the canals, lakes, etc., of the country.

[3] According to KERR PORTER, who himself saw them, (*Travels*, ii. p. 389,) these numerous lakes and swamps still exist. He also confirms the remark, that they rendered access to the city on this side impossible.

[4] ARRIAN. vii. 19.

covered with water, and stretching so far into the deserts of Arabia, that they were said to communicate with the sea[5]. These marshes were considerably lower than the bed of the river, and seem to have been destined by nature as a reservoir for its drainings. The water of the main stream was conducted into this morass, by means of a large canal of the breadth of a considerable river. It was called Pallacopas. Lest, however, the river should lose itself altogether in this morass, recourse was had to dams and sluices. One of the Babylonian satraps had effected this work at the cost of immense labour; ten thousand men having been employed upon it three months. It was nevertheless but of short duration, owing to the insurmountable difficulties which the nature of the soil presented; for as the lands about here afforded nothing but a fat, muddy soil, the embankments soon yielded to the action of the waters, and were washed away. In consequence of this, Alexander stopped up the ancient opening, and built at about five miles distance, in a strong soil, a new canal reaching to the Pallacopas. These works were the more interesting to him, because his design was to render these lakes navigable, and to penetrate with his ships into Arabia; that country being the only one of which it may be said he required the conquest, in order to complete the interior communication of his empire, without which it could not be perfectly consolidated, nor acquire the

[5] For what follows, see ARRIAN. vii. 21.

consistence which this great prince wished to give it, by the promotion of commerce and navigation, and the various arts of peace.

By these contrivances to subdue the Euphrates, that object was not only effected, but another consequence ensued, perhaps neither foreseen nor desired: the Euphrates was drained of the greatest portion of its waters before it reached the sea[6]. Instead of increasing in its descent, it diminished; several of its channels lost themselves in the sand; and its proper mouth became so shallow that it seems never to have been navigable. It is nevertheless proved, that it always retained its own mouth in the time of the Persians, and did not lose itself altogether in the Tigris, as it now does, sixty miles above the sea[7]. The great mass of its waters, however, threw itself into that river, which, increasing in proportion as the Euphrates diminished, could no longer find room for its waters within its accustomed channel, but, as it approached the sea, flowed over its banks and formed large lakes, equal to those formed by the Euphrates in the higher regions.

The country enclosed by these two rivers was one vast uninterrupted level, indebted to them for its fertility. This level was everywhere intersected by canals, which gradually decreased in

[6] ARRIAN. viii. 18.

[7] This junction now takes place at Corna. The superior impetuosity of the Tigris is here evident; for the tide in the Euphrates runs up above twenty miles beyond Corna, while it is stopped by the Tigris, whose current it cannot overpower. *Transactions of the Bombay Society*, i. 133.

size till they became mere ditches. On their banks were innumerable machines for raising the water and spreading it over the soil[8]. The heat and almost constant dryness of the climate, rendered this continual irrigation necessary; but the labour of man was here, as in Egypt, rewarded by such a luxuriant crop, that historians, fearful of being suspected of exaggeration, have been afraid to state the full truth. "Of all the countries that I am acquainted with," says Herodotus[9], "Babylonia is by far the most fruitful in corn. The soil is so particularly adapted for it, that it never produces less than two hundred fold, and in seasons remarkably favourable, it sometimes amounts to three hundred. The ear of the wheat, as well as the barley, is four digits broad. But the immense height to which the cenchrus and sesamum stalks[1] grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I dare not mention, lest those who have not visited this country should disbelieve my report." This fertility with regard to corn, however, was counterbalanced by a dearth of wood. The fig-tree, olive, and vine, were not found there at all[2]; and their place was but poorly supplied by an abundance of date or

[8] HEROD. i. 185.

[9] HEROD. i. 193.

[1] Cenchrus is *Panicum Miliaceum;* cf. THEOPH. viii. 3. *Sesamum* is generally considered to be the *Sesamum Orientale*, L. but is most likely the *Sesamum Indicum;* cf. PLIN. xviii. 10. "Sesamum ab Indis venit, ex eo et oleum faciant." DIOSC. ii. 124, describes the oil manufactured from it by the Egyptians; cf. ALPIN *de Plantis Ægyptica*, c. 32, and FORSKAL. *in Flora Arabica*, p. 113.

[2] HEROD. l. c. Compare with what he says, XENOPH. *Anab.* ii.

palm trees, with which Babylonia was completely covered. These even still grow in large quantities on the banks of the Euphrates, but neither in the plains nor on the Tigris. The fruit of the palm was not only used as food, but converted into wine and honey[3]. The process observed in the culture of this fruit is described by Herodotus; they bind the fruit of the male tree on the female, by which means the insect that is produced in the former, entering the fruit, brings it to maturity[4]. Of all other lofty trees, Babylonia was entirely destitute. Thus even, when its agriculture had attained its highest perfection, the country never entirely lost its primitive character of a land of steppes. The cyprus, though some, was but a poor substitute for all other kinds of wood[5], the want of which must have been severely felt, and had a vast influence upon the navigation and architecture of the Babylonians.

Like the generality of steppe regions, Babylonia was as destitute of stone as of wood. The free stone made use of by the inhabitants in their buildings must therefore have been brought down the Euphrates, from the northern countries, whose quarries supplied them with mill-

[3] This is also the case at present: see OTTER, Voyage ii. p. 63, where will be found some information upon the artificial culture of dates. The honey must be considered as nothing more than palm sugar made of the fresh sap of the palm, and still in common use among the Arabians. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1819, vol. i. p. 138.

[4] HEROD. l. c. He and ARISTOTLE both call this insect ψῆν; see *Hist. Anim.* v. 32. It belongs to the *Cynips Psenes*. PLINY xv. 19, very indefinitely calls it *Culex*.

[5] XENOPH. l. c.

stones[6]. Nature, however, made up for the want of these important building materials in a remarkable manner. The vicinity of Babylon furnished an inexhaustible supply of superior clay, which, dried in the sun or burnt in kilns, became so firm and durable, that the remains of ancient walls which have been thrown down for centuries, have withstood the effect of the atmosphere to the present day[7], and still retain the inscriptions with which they were impressed—a species of that arrow-headed character, which has lately so much excited the attention of the learned. Nature also even provided for the mortar. Eight days' journey above Babylon was the small river Is, and near to it a place of the same name, where was found a plentiful supply of naphtha, or bitumen, which well supplied the place of lime. No doubt seems to prevail respecting this being the modern Hit, where the pits or wells whence this material was obtained, still smoke and boil up, as though a river would break forth[8]; and where, according to Herbelot, a tradition still exists, that it was of this bitumen that Babylon was formerly built[9]. It was used instead of cement; and layers of rushes or reeds were like-

[6] Near a place called Corsote, beyond the Median wall. XENOPHON. *Op.* p. 256.

[7] HEROD. i. 179. cf. NIEBUHR'S *Voyage*, ii. 288.

[8] TITH'S *Travels to Ormus*, in *Harris's Collection of Voyages*, p. 207.

[9] HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orient. s. v. Hit.* It must not however be supposed that these were the only sources whence naphtha might be procured. It is found rather plentiful near the Tigris; so much so, that it is an amusement of the sailors upon that river to set fire to the bitumen which floats on its surface.

wise placed between every thirtieth row of bricks as a binding material. This process, described by Herodotus, is verified by the ruins of Babylon, and according to the statements of a modern traveller, the layers of rushes and palm leaves are still so fresh, that one would suppose, from their appearance, that scarcely a year had elapsed since they were first placed together[1].

Such was the character of this remarkable country. If nature on one side had done much towards assisting the labours of the inhabitants, she had on the other, thrown incredible obstacles in their way. The perception of the first urged them to overcome the latter. It was precisely this struggle which developed the power of human genius among them, in a manner in which it has taken place nowhere else. Yet all this, perhaps, would have been in vain, without the still greater advantage derived from the favourable position of the country. In consequence of this, Babylon became the principal state of Western Asia; nature herself seeming to have formed it for the great seat of the international commerce of Asia[2]. Situated between the Indus and the Mediterranean, it was the natural staple of such precious wares of the east as were esteemed in the west. Its proximity to the Persian gulf, the great highway of trade, which nature seems to have prepared for the admission of the

[1] HEROD. and NIEBUHR. ll. cc. Traces of these are visible on a Babylonian brick in the museum of Gottingen.

[2] See Vol. i. *Persians*, p. 37.

seafaring nations of the Indian seas into the midst of Asia, must be reckoned as another advantage, especially when taken in connexion with its vicinity to the two great rivers, the continuation, as it were, of this great highway, and opening a communication with the nations dwelling on the Euxine and the Caspian. Thus favoured by nature, this country necessarily became the central point, where the merchants of nearly all the nations of the civilized world assembled; and such we are informed by history it remained, so long as the international commerce of Asia flourished. Neither the devastating sword of conquering nations, nor the heavy yoke of Asiatic despotism, could tarnish, though for a time they might dim its splendour. It was only when the Europeans found a new path to India across the ocean, and converted the great commerce of the world from a land trade to a sea trade, that the royal city on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates began to decline. Then, deprived of its commerce, it fell a victim to the two-fold oppression of anarchy and despotism, and sunk to its original state—a stinking morass, and a barren steppe.

The investigation of the commerce of Babylon will form the subject of the following chapter; but previously to entering upon it, let us take a glance at the people who took up their abode on this spot; who, in short, were the Babylonians?

In order to answer this question, we must, in the first place, distinguish the ancient inhabitants, who

dwelt here before the invasion of the Chaldeans, from the latter race, who, about the year 630 before Christ, became the dominant people of Babylon.

We know enough of the ancient Babylonians to conclude, that they belonged to the Semetic family of nations; their language, which is very incorrectly called Chaldean, (as the rude Chaldeans only changed their barbarous speech for that of the cultivated Babylonians,) being an Aramean dialect, differing but slightly from the proper Syriac. Whether the inhabitants of Babylon came from India, or were tribes from the peninsula of Arabia, as their language renders probable, is of the less consequence to the historian, as in a country which became a principal seat of commerce, a very mixed race of people must necessarily have arisen. It is, on the other hand, of importance to know, that the Babylonians had, in the most remote antiquity, advanced not only to fixed habitations, but also to a certain degree of civilization.

The most ancient tradition that refers to Babylon, represents them as a nation possessing fixed abodes and political institutions[3]. Every one is familiar with the accounts which the Mosaic records give us of the *first empire* founded by Nimrod, and of the celebrated building of which Jehovah prevented the completion. There is perhaps nowhere else to be found a narrative so venerable for its antiquity, or so important in

[3] GENES. xi. 1—7.

the history of civilization; in which we have at once preserved the first traces of primeval international commerce, the first political associations, and the first erection of secure and permanent dwellings!

For a long time after this early appearance, Babylon vanishes, as it were, from the scene of history. The Jewish annalists had no opportunity to mention her, as the Babylonians had no connexion with them; and with regard to what the later Greek writers, Herodotus and Ctesias, tell us, their statements are so mixed up with fabulous reports, which they picked up in the country itself, that they are incapable of being reduced to any chronological arrangement. The historical mythology of the Babylonians seems to rest almost exclusively upon the names of Semiramis, Ninus, and Belus, which, however embellished and interwoven with *astronomical ideas*, still render it in the highest degree probable, that great conquerors had arisen in this part of Asia long before the origin of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, and had founded two empires, of which nothing more has been preserved than the remembrance, in the general name of *Assyrian monarchy*.

I will leave to others the collection and arrangement of these fragments of the primitive history of Babylon[4], and confine myself to that

[4] See GATTERER'S *Weltgeschichte*, p. 151, etc. It is evident from a passage in the Armenian version of EUSEBIUS'S *Chronicle*, quoted and illustrated by Gesenius, the learned commentator upon Isaiah, that Babylonia, even in the time of Hezekiah, 728—700. B.C. was dependent upon

epoch in which this city played so great and mighty a part in the drama of the world.

This brilliant epoch begins in the latter part of the seventh century before our era, about 630 years before Christ, or nearly seventy years before the rise of the Persian monarchy.

A revolution then took place in Asia, similar to that which Cyrus afterwards effected. A nomad people, under the name of Chaldean[5], descending from the mountains of Taurus and Caucasus, overwhelmed southern Asia, and made themselves masters of the Syrian and Babylonian plains. Babylonia, which they captured, became the chief seat of their empire, and

the Assyrian empire, notwithstanding that Merodach-baladan is mentioned, (Isaiah xxxix. 1,) as at that time king of Babylon. It appears that the monarch here spoken of had only rebelled, and now implored the assistance of Hezekiah. He was slain six months after this by Elibus, another usurper, who was taken prisoner by Sanherib the Assyrian ruler.

[5] The question what the Chaldeans really were, and whether they ever properly existed as a nation, is one of the most difficult that history presents. From eastern analogy, it seems most probable that the כַּשְׂדִּים of the Hebrews, which is translated Chaldeans, was a general name among the Semetic nations for the *northern barbarians*, as Turani was among the inhabitants of Iran. At all events, it is certain, that the conquering Chaldeans forced their way from the north, since their separate hordes had already wandered in the steppes of Mesopotamia for a hundred years, and had in part settled there. The reader, however, is particularly referred to GESENIUS on Isaiah xxiii. 13, where the fragments of the earlier history of this people will be found collected. This learned commentator seeks the original seat of the Chaldeans in the mountains of Curdistan, now inhabited by the Curds, probably their successors; and conjectures that they were brought from their native regions by the Assyrians as mercenaries, after which they settled in the plains till they started forth as conquerors. Every one acquainted with Asiatic history will at once see, that there is nothing in the opinion that their name was a general appellation, but what may very well agree with this notion. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that would make them Scythians, refutes itself. *Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. sic.* ii. 77, etc.

their king, Nebuchadnezzar, by subduing Asia to the shores of the Mediterranean, earned his title to be ranked among the most famous of Asiatic conquerors. The great victory which he gained at Cercesium, on the banks of the Euphrates, over Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, established his power. He destroyed Jerusalem, besieged Tyre and the other cities of Phœnicia, and probably overran Egypt itself. Thus was founded the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, which, about half a century later, was in its turn overthrown by Cyrus.

This was not then the period of the foundation and growth of Babylon, but it was that of its grandeur and power. It may seem extraordinary that Herodotus does not mention Nebuchadnezzar; but if he omits the name, he agrees in chronology with the statements of the Hebrew writers; for his queen Nitocris[6], to whom he ascribes the great works in and about Babylon, must have been contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, and was probably his wife[7].

By admitting these data, already sufficiently proved by the critical researches of early writers, we begin to see a little more clearly through the obscurity which still envelops the foundation and aggrandisement of Babylon; and the statements

[6] HEROD. i. 183.

[7] HERODOTUS, i. 188, calls the king Labynetus, against whom Cyrus waged war, her son. It is extraordinary how the name of Nebuchadnezzar could remain unknown to this historian, when, according to JOSEPHUS, *Op.* p. 350, it was well known to Megasthenes and other Greek writers. I shall hereafter find an opportunity of saying a few words upon this subject.

of Herodotus, which were long considered unworthy of credit, become intelligible. The same wonders which he relates of Babylon are related by other writers, who, like him, speak as eye-witnesses of other great cities of Asia. We ought not to doubt of what appears extraordinary, because it does not, judging from our own experience, seem probable; for this does not enable us to decide what may be possible under another climate and other circumstances. Do not the pyramids of Egypt, the great wall of China, and the rock-temples of Elephantis stand, as it were in mockery of that criticism which would arrogate to itself the privilege of fixing boundaries to the capabilities of the united strength of congregated nations!

It is one of the peculiarities of the great despotic empires which Asia has always contained, that they can with amazing facility concentrate their power upon one single point; and thus, in consequence of the immense assemblage of various tribes from distant countries, and the almost incredible population which the ease of procuring subsistence accumulates in certain fruitful regions, many vast undertakings are practicable there, which could not be executed in Europe.

It must also be borne in mind, that the great cities of Asia were constituted in a manner wholly different to those of Europe. They generally grew out of the settlements of nomad conquerors, who fixed their abode in a subju-

gated country, and changed their old mode of life for one more settled and peaceful.

The encampment of a chieftain, near the walls of some already existing capital, was speedily converted into a new city, which eclipsed the splendour of the old one. The vanquished people were employed in its erection; the plan of the camp, which it followed in every particular, ensured its symmetry, and enables us to account for its square form, and the straight lines in which its streets extended, and intersected each other at right angles.

Such was the general origin of these vast capital cities, and the process of their foundation. Where a plentiful supply of building materials could be found at a convenient distance; a clay that the sun could dry, or the fire burn into bricks; and sources of bitumen that rendered mortar unnecessary; our surprise must be lessened at the erection of edifices and monuments such as Europe cannot equal.

These favourite residences of victorious monarchs, where luxury and delight took up their abode, insensibly became the central points of the commerce of their states. Long trains of caravans were directed towards them, and the produce of the provinces here became accumulated. That this was the case with Babylon will be shewn in the following chapter.

The extent of these cities forms but little guide to the European in estimating their population. The compact close streets of Europe form a

striking contrast to the scattered mansions of the east, surrounded with their extensive courts and gardens, occupying more than an even portion of the whole area. An equal space therefore was far from containing an equal number of men, as in the cities of Europe. How well these remarks apply to Babylon will be seen from the express testimony of the ancients. "The buildings of this city," says Quintus Curtius[8], "do not reach to the walls, but are at the distance of an acre (*jugerum*) from them. Neither is the whole city covered with houses, but only ninety furlongs (*stadia*); nor do the houses stand in rows by each other, but the intervals which separate them are sown and cultivated, that they may furnish subsistence in case of siege[9]."

Such was the origin and state of the mighty Babylon, whose majesty and splendour was so celebrated in antiquity. Much of its glory was due to the Chaldeans, whose monarchs, having achieved by their swords the sovereignty of Asia, made it their habitation. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built!" was the proud exclamation of its king Nebuchadnezzar[1]!—Still more expressive is the testimony of the prophet: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans; that nation which a little time since was not. The Assyrian

[8] CURTIUS v. 12. Without doubt from the accounts of one who accompanied Alexander. Should not therefore Herodotus's account of the high houses and straight streets be limited to one part of the city?

[9] *Per nonaginta stadia habitatur.* He estimates the whole extent at three hundred and sixty-eight stadia.

[1] DAN. iv. 27.

subdued it, and gave it to the inhabitants of the desert! they transformed the wandering hordes of nations into settled abodes; and built up the palaces of the land[2]."

Ancient Babylon, from the character and arrangement of its buildings, was prevented from leaving monuments to posterity worthy of comparison with those of Persepolis; but its heaps, or rather mountains of rubbish, still interest the attention of the philosopher and historian. The most ancient of ancient ruins, the very traditions of whose origin reach back to the earliest dawn of history! A living witness, as it were, of the truth of the first records of our sacred books. However changed during the lapse of thousands of years, that first building began by the nations has not altogether vanished from the earth!

It was again, in this case, reserved for the present age to throw a clearer light upon this great object, by exploring the site of ancient Babylon, the only means by which it could be effected.

Notwithstanding the labours of so many early travellers, and among others of Niebuhr, who first led the way, various obstacles prevented any one of them from making an accurate examination of the monuments of Babylon; and the most important, or at least the largest, were precisely those which still remained enveloped in almost total obscurity. Recent English travellers, among whom Sir Ker Porter holds the first

[2] ISAIAH xxiii. 13. Michaelis's translation.

rank, raised at length the veil which had so long covered these venerable remains of the primeval world[3].

According to Herodotus, the only ancient writer who, as an eyewitness, has left a description of ancient Babylon[4], the city formed a per-

[3] Rich, the British resident at Bagdad, in 1811 repeatedly visited Babylon, accompanied by his friend Belino, a German. The fruits of their researches were a first and second *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon*, Lond. 1818. Seven years later, Porter, likewise accompanied by Belino, visited and explored the site of the ancient city; and his exact and detailed, and very interesting descriptions are given in his *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Babylonia*, etc., vol. ii. p. 293—390, with views and plans. I would, once for all, remark, that they are to be regarded as the authority for the following statements where no other is quoted. The accompanying plan, by the assistance of my friend, professor Otfr. Müller, has been reduced from plates 73, 74, of Porter. There is also an Essay on ancient Babylon, by captain Frederick, in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Lond. 1823; those who have seen Porter may dispense with this.

[4] HEROD. i. 178—181. The particulars mentioned by DIOD. i. p. 121, etc., evidently borrowed from Ctesias, who undoubtedly visited Babylon, contain numerous events not to be found in Herodotus; such, for example, as those relating to the hanging gardens, the double royal palace, etc. Ctesias, however, not only recounts what he saw himself, but also what he heard. Such, too, is in some measure the case with Herodotus, who certainly saw the exterior of the temple of Belus, which was still in good preservation, though he could not obtain a sight of the interior, which had been previously pillaged by Xerxes. He must likewise have seen the royal palace of Babylon, since the kings of Persia were accustomed to pass a part of the winter in that capital; but Darius had already, at its capture, thrown down the walls, or at least a part of them, (HEROD. iii. 159,) and the particulars of their prodigious height and thickness rest upon a relation made to Herodotus, which he repeats as he heard it, and which the reader must modify according to his belief. We must not however judge of them from what we see around us. The Chinese wall which now exists, could not have been built in Europe; this, and the Median wall, built also of brick, which once bounded Babylonia on the north, and extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, though perhaps not so high, were certainly longer than those of Babylon. At all events it is sufficiently clear from the history of the siege of Babylon, by Darius, that the walls of this city were of an extraordinary height and solidity.

fect square, of which each side was one hundred and twenty stadia (twelve geographical miles) long. It was built on both banks of the Euphrates, which divided it into two parts connected by a stone bridge, with wooden planks laid over for the pathway, which might be removed at pleasure. The banks of the river were lined with bricks. In the midst of one quarter of the city stood the royal palace; in the other, the temple of Bel, in a quadrangular enclosure two stadia in circumference. In the midst of the same rises a tower composed of eight stories; the lowermost being one stadia in length and breadth; around which runs up a flight of steps with resting places. Upon the uppermost tower stands the sanctuary, in which is placed a table and couch of solid gold, but no statue. The city was surrounded by a deep and wide moat full of water, and faced with bricks; behind which was an embankment, or wall, two hundred royal cubits high, built of the earth, dug out of the moat, burnt into bricks, with doors at the top. A second wall, of almost equal strength, formed a further defence between the other and the city: the royal palace also was fortified. The streets were built in straight lines running in two directions, and cutting each other at right angles; those towards the river had gates of brass. The houses were built three and four stories high; and Babylon was the most richly adorned city that the historian had ever seen.

Setting aside for the present the two questions relative to the position of the principal monuments, and the extent of ancient Babylon, let us take a survey of the ruins as they at present exist, according to the latest information. This will be much facilitated by the plan annexed to this volume. I hope, after this preparation, I shall be able to investigate the above two, otherwise difficult, questions, with less labour both to myself and reader.

Rich and Porter both sought the ruins of Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, near the little modern town of Hilla, 32° 31′ N. lat. Starting from Bagdad, about fifty miles further north on the Tigris, the first place Porter arrived at was Akkerkuf on the Tigris, where the Median wall formerly reached this river; thence taking a south-west direction, he crossed the plain to the Euphrates. The direct journey thence to Babylon is forty-four miles, the intervening space being a completely level, but now uncultivated plain; though the numerous canals, now dry, by which it is everywhere intersected, as well as the fragments of bricks and tiles with which it is everywhere strewed, are proofs of its former different state. Here and there an isolated caravanserai points out the usual resting place, and offers the traveller its scanty accommodation. At the last of these, near the village of Mahowill, ten miles from Hilla, begin, properly speaking, the ruins of Babylon; the rest of the way being everywhere covered

with unburnt bricks, evidently the remains of a great, wide-spread city.

The great ruins which first strike the eye of the traveller in coming from Bagdad by the way of Mahowill, lie on the east side of the river northward of Hilla. Their first appearance is that of natural hills, but a closer examination soon clearly shews, that they are composed of bricks, and are evidently the remains of large buildings. Three of these immense mounds are found in succession from north to south, on the eastern side of the Euphrates.

In the language of the Arabians, one now bears the name of *Mukallibe*[6], (the overturned,) the second, *el Kasr*, (the palace,) and the third, the Amram hill, (the grave of a saint of that name.)

The first mound *a* Mukallibe, is the most northern, and the largest of the three[7]. It is formed of bricks dried in the sun. The whole forming an oblong square, the top of which presents an uneven surface, having the appearance of a platform, upon which some great buildings had formerly been erected. The interior is full of ravines and holes, now the resort of wild beasts, which renders the entrance dangerous. In an opened apartment Mr. Rich found a wooden sarcophagus, containing a skeleton, covered with

[6] Pronounced by the Arabians *Mojalibe*.

[7] Its present height, which, according to Porter, is the same it always was, is 140 feet; the northern, which is the longest side, is 542; and the south and east sides 230 feet. The four points are placed according to the opposite points of the compass.

nitre, whose great antiquity admitted of no doubt. This building has been erroneously taken for the ancient temple of Belus, its structure being quite opposed to the pyramidical form in which this was built. It was probably the fortress which defended this quarter of the town, in which the royal palace was situated. Nothing more can be said of it with any degree of certainty.

At two thousand two hundred and fifty feet south of this hill, is the second hill, *b*, named by the Arabs *El Kasr*, or the palace. When visited by Rich, it was nearly a square of seven hundred yards in length and breadth. But even in the seven years which intervened between his visit and that of Porter, the everlasting digging and carrying away of the bricks had been sufficient to change its shape. What then must have been its size twenty centuries before! Every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter of the city. The bricks are of the finest description, hardened not in the sun but in the fire, perfectly moulded and ornamented with inscriptions. And notwithstanding they have been taken away from this place, as from a great storehouse for centuries, they appear still to be abundant. But these continued robberies have disfigured the appearance of the hill. Deep pits and ravines have been dug out, and in some places they have bored into the solid mass, forming winding caverns and subterranean passages.

Besides these bricks, fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthern ware, marble, and great quantities of polished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh, are still found. The walls are eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters. The face of every brick on which the inscription is stamped was universally turned downwards. The upper side of each row was covered with a layer of cement; and on this, carefully prepared, the face of the succeeding row was bedded. The firmness of these masses is so great, that in spite of the bricks being the hardest of any that Porter had met with, he found they would not bear detaching. It was only after considerable labour, that he succeeded in chipping off a few pieces, although the layers of cement are not more than the twentieth part of an inch in thickness. Along the western and northern face of this great mound, are detached portions of a wall, which probably composed the piers or buttresses of the terraces, attached to the celebrated hanging gardens described by Diodorus, and which, according to Curtius, had the appearance of a forest. In the ruins which now remain, lines of long passages and square chambers may be easily traced, which commanded a view of the city. Amongst these ruins stands a solitary tree, of a species altogether strange to this country. It bears every mark of high antiquity, its originally enormous trunk being worn away, and shattered

by time, while its spreading and evergreen branches are particularly beautiful, and adorned with long tress-like tendrils; probably the last descendant of those hanging gardens, which were numbered among the wonders of the world.

About two thousand four hundred feet from Kasr, is Amram hill, *c*. This great mass spreads over a vaster expanse every way than that of Kasr, and is now of a triangular form. Its longest side, on the south-west, is no less than four thousand two hundred feet; the shortest, on the north, is two thousand five hundred. The whole of this stupendous heap is broken like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines, and long winding furrows, from the number of bricks that have been taken away; so that it now has the appearance of an ordinary heap of irregular form. It is a shapeless assemblage of bricks, mortar, and cement, where the foot of the traveller plunges at every step into dust and rubbish. Its former state or designation it is now impossible to determine.

Several lofty corresponding ridges or mounds of ramparts surround the space occupied by these different heaps; and notwithstanding their ruinous state, it is easy to discover their ancient designation; which, without doubt, was the defence of this large space, and all the establishments it contained. The outermost line of defence begins on the north-west of Mukallibe, at the point *d*, surrounds this fort, and stretches in a straight line to point *e*, in a south-east direction.

Here there is an opening, *f*, where, without doubt, once stood a stately entrance; it then returns in a south-west direction, *g*, beyond the hill of Amram, which it encloses towards the river; so that it forms with this a great triangle, of which the curved line *h*—*i* (the river,) forms the base, and the two lines *e* and *g* the two sides. Within this triangle run two wall lines of defence, of which one forms an angle to the other; the first near *k;* and, two hundred paces behind this, parallel to it, a second, near *l,* which however in the midst has a large opening.

Behind these triple lines rise the three great mounds above described, together with some smaller ones. But all that part of the river which forms the base of the triangle is defended by a wall enclosure, composed of bricks dried in the sun, and rising in some places sixty feet above the bed of the river; in this most likely were fixed the splendid gates of brass that defended the city towards the river. In Porter's plan, the length of the base of the great triangle, formed by the Euphrates, is three English miles and three quarters; the length of the northern shank, two miles and three quarters; and that of the southern, two miles and a half, reckoning from the opening near *f*, to the river.

All that has thus far been described lies on the eastern bank of the river. Let us now take a view of the western, which Porter had an opportunity of minutely exploring. The earlier opinion, which even Rennel adopted, and which

owing to the very defective information that had then been obtained, placed the temple of Bel, and the royal palace on the eastern side of the river, is now completely refuted [8]; and the local of this immense city obtains, by more recent investigations, an extent corresponding to what we are told of it by the ancients; though it cannot be supposed that modern research, often directed to the mere tracing of ruins, rather than to ruins themselves, should produce measurements and definitions as exact as if the whole ancient city, not only with its walls, its palaces, and temples, but likewise its houses and their offices remained in its full extent, unchanged.

The western bank of the Euphrates certainly contains no such mounds of ruins as those lying opposite on the eastern; for scarcely any eye could discover the largest of them, (the ruins of Nimrod's fort, of which we shall presently speak,) at a greater distance than twelve miles. But notwithstanding this, the researches of Porter lead to some highly interesting results. I shall here quote that traveller's own words [9]: "We left the town of Hillah on the western bank of the Euphrates, by the gate nearest the river, which gave our march a northerly direction. In this route, having crossed four dry canals, and found for two miles beyond them the ground

[8] However valuable, therefore, may be the chart of the country of Babylonia by this great geographer, the ground plan of the city contained in the same sheet can be of no practical use. Rich, in his second Memoir, has examined and confuted Rennel's opinion.

[9] Travels, ii. 379.

perfectly level, we approached the village of Anana. It is situated on the western bank of the Euphrates, almost immediately opposite the ruins of the Amran and Kasr hills, and is distant nearly three miles from Hillah. About fifty yards to the north-west of the village of Anana rises a rather considerable ridge of mounded earth, fourteen feet high, running due north for three hundred yards, then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it meets the river. All around was very low and marshy, and the mounds in question were nearly all I could see for a good way up along this bank of the stream. On the face of the ridge, terminating at the water side, the courses of the sun-dried brick are distinctly visible; but the level of the land is now so equal with that of the river, that any more abundant traces of a corresponding embankment to that on the opposite shore must be confessed to be no longer discernible; yet the discovery of one link is sufficient for concluding that others have formerly been there to complete the chain. But why this western dyke has been so much more nearly totally demolished than its eastern neighbour, we cannot conjecture: the fact only is certain; and the consequence probably has been, that the want of any protection from the superflux of the river has rendered its 'besom of destruction' more completely sweeping over this level tract. Some trifling mounded hillocks however are percivable a little to the south of the village.

"Having traversed the plain north-west for

some time, in search of further mounds in that direction, I turned, disappointed, and bent my way south-west, keeping the Birs Nimrod in my eye. After riding onward about a mile, I found the little vegetation which cheered the waste gradually disappear, and the ground become perfectly sterile. All over this surface evident marks are visible of its having been formerly covered with buildings; these indications increased at every step, till, after such growing proofs for more than a mile, we came to a numerous and very conspicuous assemblage of mounds; the most considerable of which was about thirty-five feet in height; and from its elevated summit I observed that the face of the country, both to the north and the south, for upwards of a mile either way, bore the same hillocky appearance; besides being thickly scattered with those fragments of past habitations, which, in all Babylonian ruins, have so particularly marked their character. Here, doubtless, is the trace of a building of considerable consequence, *o*. The extent of its mounds and ruins-tracked ground seemed more than two miles; and having traversed that extent to the south-west, I found the hilly vestiges did not cease for a mile beyond. Here, I think it is possible, I may have found the site of the old or lesser palace.

"On quitting this first extensive heap of mounds, which, for perspicuity at least, I shall designate by the name of lesser palace, and keeping on in the same direction (south west), we crossed a space of high grass and rank weeds for nearly a

mile; we then found the plain arid again, and undulated with a multitude of mounds, but of inferior elevation to those last described; these two were attended by the usual exterior fragments of ruins, spreading in a circular form rather more than half a mile in breadth. Having duly explored this second specimen of considerable remains, we came out upon a great deal of cultivated ground, over which we took our course for more than a mile, when we arrived at the banks of a canal, the bed of which we crossed, and half a mile more brought us to an extensive wood of date trees, in the bosom of which stands the village of Thamasia. We did not halt there, but passed on over two miles of cultivation and high grass, at which extremity a vast tract opened before us, covered with every minor vestige of former buildings; and which appearances continued the whole way to the eastern verge of the boundary around the Birs Nimrod, a distance of nearly a mile and three quarters."

Thus then we come to the most distant but largest monument which yet remains of ancient Babylonia. The Arab name of the Birs Nimrod is I think translated as exactly as possible by that of Nimrod's tower. Although Niebuhr saw it at a distance, and mentioned it in his travels, neither he nor his predecessors had the satisfaction of exploring it[1]. This pleasure was reserved

[1] Niebuhr mentions (*Reise* ii. §. 290) with regret his having been prevented by apprehension of the wild tribes in the desert from closely examining it.

for Rich, an English resident at Bagdad, who was followed a short time after by Sir Ker Porter, to whom we are indebted for the most exact researches and details, as well as the best drawings on the subject. This huge mass of building lies about six miles south-west of Hillah. It has the appearance of an oblong hill, the base of which, according to Porter, is two thousand and eighty-two feet in circumference. Rich reckons it at two thousand two hundred and eighty-six[2]. It may easily be conceived that it is scarcely possible to fix in a positive manner the circumference of such a ruin. Its present height, reckoning to the bottom of the tower, standing on its summit, is two hundred feet; the tower itself is thirty-five. Looking at it from the west, the entire mass rises at once from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. It is composed of fine bricks, kiln-baked. From the western side two of its stories may be distinctly seen; the first is about sixty feet high, cloven in the middle by deep ravines. The tower-like looking ruin on the summit is a solid mass twenty-eight feet wide, of the most beautiful masonry; to all appearance it formed an angle of some square building, the ruins of which are yet to be seen on the eastern side. The cement which connects the bricks is so hard, that it was impossible to chip off the smallest piece; and for this reason none of the inscriptions can be copied, as they

[2] RICH'S *Memoir*, p. 36.

are always on the lower surface of the bricks. It is rent from the top nearly half way to the bottom; and at its foot lay several unshapen masses of fine brick work, still bearing traces of a violent fire, which has given them a vitrified appearance, whence it has been conjectured that it has been struck by lightning. The appearance of the hill on the eastern side evidently shews that this enormous mass has been reduced more than half. Only three stories out of the eight which it formerly contained, can now be discerned. The earth about the bottom of the hill is now clear, but is again surrounded by walls, which form an oblong square, inclosing numerous heaps of rubbish, probably once the dwellings of the inferior deities, or of the priests and officers of the temple. The appearance of the tower of Nimrod is sublime even in its ruins. Clouds play around its summit; its recesses are inhabited by lions, three being quietly basking on its heights when Porter approached it[3], and, scarcely intimidated by the cries of the Arabs, gradually and slowly descended into the plain. Thus the words of the prophet have been fulfilled: "wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; owls shall fill their houses, ostriches shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. Jackals shall howl in their palaces, and wild hounds in their pleasant places[4]."

Previously to giving my opinion upon these

[3] *Travels*, ii. p. 387.

[4] ISAIAH xiii. 20, 21.

monuments separately, it will be necessary to determine from history, the epochs of the rise, the aggrandisement, and embellishment of ancient Babylon. Its foundation must be carried back to the time of Nimrod, the first chieftain in those regions; when a tower, that is a sanctuary, a temple, and a city were built here by the nations[5]. Whether this temple was consecrated to some idol, Bel, or any other, we are not informed; but supposing this to have been the case, it accounts for the wrath of Jehovah, who descended to interrupt the progress of the building. Near this temple was built a city. The age, not merely of the tower, but of the oldest city of the earth, of which any vestiges yet exist, cannot be computed to a year; but, according to general chronology, it dates from somewhere about the second century after the flood.

The second epoch is that of Semiramis. Diodorus relates in detail all that is attributed to this queen. She made Babylon the seat of her government. She built the outer walls; erected two royal castles or palaces upon the two banks of the Euphrates, of which that upon the western side, within a triple enclosure, was by far the most magnificent. She not only built a bridge over the river, but erected quays on each bank, and dug a subterraneous tunnel under it, which connected the two royal residences. Lastly, to her is attributed the foundation of the temple of Belus[6].

[5] GENES. xi. 4.

[6] DIODOR. i. 121, who informs us expressly, that the palace on the

It is of little consequence whether we consider Semiramis as belonging to mythology or history. The great works attributed to her must in either case be carried back to a period previous to the Chaldean conquest; whether she founded them herself, or whether she merely obtained the credit for doing what had been accomplished by a series of the most ancient sovereigns of Babylon. According to Herodotus, who calls her husband Ninus, her reign must be placed about 1200 years before Christ[7].

The third epoch, perfectly historical, that of the aggrandisement and embellishment of Babylon, falls in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, after the Chaldean conquest, from 604 to 561 before Christ. This is placed beyond a doubt, by the contemporary accounts of the Hebrew writers. Besides this, Josephus has left us in the fragments which he has preserved of the books of Berosus, positive accounts of the works begun and executed by Nebuchadnezzar[8]. "He built a three-fold wall or entrenchment round about the inner city, and another in like manner about

western side was far the most splendid; and at the same time describes not only its dimensions, but likewise its ornaments, composed of great pictorial representations of hunting scenes, etc. The tradition of a way under the river, which Ctesias, from whom Diodorus evidently copied, certainly did not see, probably arose from subterranean caverns near the palaces, which were indispensable in this climate. What wonderful stories have not been told of subterranean passages and vaults in our cloisters and castles?

[7] Reckoning the Assyrian empire, according to his account, i. 95, to have continued 520 years.

[8] JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* x. 349, etc.

that which was the outer, all of burnt brick. And when he had walled the city about, and adorned its gates gloriously, he built another palace by the side of his father's, but so that they joined. To describe their vast height and great splendour would be superfluous. In this royal seat he also erected terraces of stone, which resembled mountains, and planted it with various kinds of trees, which was called a suspended paradise; because his wife, who had been bred up in Media, was desirous of having things like her own country."

These were the epochs of the advancement and embellishments of Babylon, up to the conquest of Cyrus, by which it became a Persian city. How grievously the Babylonians felt this yoke is proved by their general revolt at the commencement of the reign of Darius, who, after the capture of Babylon, by the stratagem of Zopirus, demolished the greater part, if not the whole, of its outward walls.

Although it was the winter residence of the kings of Persia, it had already much declined when conquered by Alexander. Xerxes had despoiled the temple of Bel of its most precious ornaments and utensils; the temple itself began to wear the appearance of decline; and the canals of the environs were stagnant and poisonous. Had not death defeated the grand projects of Alexander, the venerable Babylon would have become the capital of his empire; the central point of the land and sea commerce of the world.

She would probably have become the flourishing and mighty queen of nations, and the destinies of the human race might have been altogether changed. But inscrutable Providence, who disposes of all according to his will, recalled, in the midst of his career, the only man capable of giving peace to the world, as it then existed, and of securing it a durable form. His death decided the fate of Babylon. The new cities of Selucia, Ctesiphon, and others, arose in its neighbourhood; and as the materials were almost entirely fetched from its inexhaustible magazines[9], they were built, as it were, at her expence. Thus was that ancient city laid waste and transformed into a wild, where the hunter might await his prey, where the beast might flee before his pursuer, and where he still takes up his habitation.

The foregoing elucidations, I conceive, justify me in making the following conclusions.

First. The accounts given by the ancients, and especially by Herodotus, respecting the extent and situation of ancient Babylon, seem to be confirmed by the investigations of the moderns quite as much as could be expected, considering the nature of its ruins. Herodotus states its length and breadth to have been one hundred and twenty stadia, or twelve geographical miles. From the most southern mound of ruins, to the northernmost one, that is to say, from the Birs Nimrod to Mukallibe, is upwards of eight miles in a straight line. Vestiges of ancient

[9] PLIN. H. N. vi. 30.

buildings, however, which are still found for upwards of three miles beyond Mohavil, prove very plainly, that the city extended towards the north beyond Mukallibe. Whether also it extended towards the south, beyond the Birs Nimrod, has not yet been determined; but if I succeed, as I hope soon to do, in shewing that the Birs Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, this conjecture will be confirmed; since this temple was not situated at the end of the city, but in its interior. Thus the length of ancient Babylon, from north to south, may be estimated at twelve miles; as regards its width from west to east, we have no such positive data, because, at the extremities of the ruins in this direction, there are no great monuments. Nevertheless, from the most western heap of ruins, to the eastern point, where the opening of the great triangle of which I have above spoken, (from *f* to *o*,) may be reckoned at five or six miles; and that the city extended beyond both these points will, in the sequel, be made very clearly to appear.

Secondly. It is not only proved from the most recent investigations, that ancient Babylon was situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and that the course of this river has undergone no important change[1]; but it also becomes highly probable, that the western part of this city, whose

[1] Only that in the neighbourhood of the hanging gardens, the river on the eastern side has gained upon the land, so that the ancient embankment is now at some distance from the shore, as is pointed out in the plan.

existence has been doubted, was the largest. The distance from Nimrod's tower to the most northern hill, *m*, beyond the village of Anana, is very nearly six geographical miles; and that the width of this part of the city could not have been less, is sufficiently evident from the statements of Porter given above.

Thirdly. This traveller I believe to be correct in considering this western quarter of the city as the most ancient. It is said by him to be that which included not only the primeval city and tower of Nimrod, but likewise, at least the greatest portion, of the mighty works attributed to Semiramis. This explains why, with the exception of the tower of Nimrod, which thousands of years have not been able to destroy, so few great ruins are to be found in this western quarter; for not only time, but the neglect occasioned by the aggrandisement of the eastern quarter, must have hastened its decay.

Fourthly. The tower of Nimrod is the ancient temple of Bel, which, therefore, was in the western quarter of the city, and not in the eastern, as was formerly generally believed. This must be at once admitted, if it can be established, that the western quarter of the city was the most ancient; a fact which will receive additional support from what we shall have to say upon the eastern. It has been very clearly proved by Porter, that neither the situation nor form of a single eastern ruin, (nor Mokallibe, as Rennel

believed,) will agree with the ancient temple of Bel.

The Birs Nimrod, however, corresponds with it, first in form, for of the eight stories, which it had originally, three can still be made out; it corresponds with it secondly in dimensions, for its length and breadth agree with what is stated by Herodotus, so far as they can be determined from a mountain-heap of ruins. It corresponds, finally, with the statement of the same historian, that this pyramid-formed sanctuary stood within a square enclosure; for the remains of such an one are still very clearly to be traced. It is impossible to carry the comparison farther than this respecting a building now reduced to a heap of rubbish. Even when seen by Herodotus it had been destroyed by Xerxes, and, at least in part, lay in ruins. So immense, however, were they, that Alexander, who entertained the idea of restoring it, was obliged to abandon even the clearing away of the rubbish, upon which he employed his army, after having in vain tried the Babylonians upon it[2]. Besides, it is nowhere stated, that the temple of Bel was erected in the eastern quarter of the city; but only that it stood in the midst of one quarter. Whether this is to be taken in a strict sense, or whether it means no more than that it was situated within the city, it will be impossible to determine, unless some other traveller be able to inform us, whether to the south of Nimrod's tower, as well

[2] ARRIAN. vii. 17.

as on the other sides, traces of the anicent city are still to be found for any considerable distance.

Fifthly. If Nimrod's tower be the ancient temple of Bel, then it must be admitted that it belongs to the oldest ruins of Babylon; or rather that it is *the* oldest. There seems nothing to oppose this fact; while all seems to speak in favour of its being the remains of that primeval building erected by the assembly of nations, whose top should reach to heaven, but whose completion was prevented by Jehovah. It may be assumed that its site was westward of the stream, because it was built by the descendants of Noah, when they were journeying from west to east. "As they now towards the east journeyed," it is said, "they found a plain in the land of Sinear, and dwelt therein[3]." It was built of the same material as that of which the ruin consists. "And spake they to one another: Let us make and burn bricks. And take bricks as stone and clay for lime[4]." There is no reason why so mighty a building should have been entirely swept from the earth, in so dry and favourable a climate, where so many smaller have been preserved. Its preservation seems in some measure accounted for, from its having been, after the adoption of the worship of the stars, the temple of the national deity; (whether, as I believe, the sun, or, as some others think, the planet Ju-

[3] GEN. xi. 2. [The English translation has it *from* the east. *Trs.*]

[4] GEN. xi. 3, 4.

piter[5];) and likewise the astrological sanctuary. It is almost needless to add, that this supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions, aggrandisement, and embellishments, which it afterwards received, and which were again, in the course of centuries, reduced to ruins. Neither can anything be argued against its high antiquity, from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. The only question here is respecting the original foundation—the first and mightiest that the hand of man erected; and what higher confirmation can there be of the most ancient record we possess, than the existence of the most ancient monument, mentioned by its inspired author?

Sixthly. Modern investigations confirm also the particulars respecting the two royal palaces in Babylon. These ancient residences of the kings before the Chaldean dynasty, were among the great works of Semiramis, and were still existing in the time of Alexander. Here he was taken ill, and causing himself to be transported across the river, died in the Chaldean palace, on the eastern side, of which we shall presently have occasion to speak. It is true, there are no such remains of the western palace, as we have of the eastern; but the vestiges of a large edifice, near *o*, which led Porter to conjecture[6], that the western edifice must have been here situated, are sufficient to confirm the testimony of

[5] GESENIUS *in Isaiah*, ii. p. 395.
[6] PORTER ii. p. 308.

Diodorus and others respecting the two royal palaces on the opposite sides of the river. It is to this author we are indebted for the description borrowed from Ctesias, of the western palace. It is represented as having a triple enclosure; the first, sixty stadia; the second, forty stadia; and the innermost, the palace itself, twenty stadia. The walls were adorned with large pictorial representations of the hunting of wild beasts, similar to those which are still found of a later period, that of the Sassanides, upon the walls of the rock grottoes at Kermanshah. Though these buildings have been swept away by time, yet the conjecture of Porter, who, in the great and extensive elevations, would see the remains of these enclosures, seem in the highest degree probable.

Seventhly. The eastern quarter of the city was the later, but probably the most magnificent. It was the city of the Chaldeans, where Nabopolasser and his son Nebuchadnezzar reigned, and erected their royal dwellings. Here, on the eastern bank of the river, was situated the new eastern palace. "When Nebuchadnezzar," says Josephus[7], quoting from Berosus, "after the death of his father, had taken upon himself the administration of the government of the empire of his father, and directed that when the captives came they should be distributed as colonies, in the most convenient places of Babylonia, Then adorned he the temple of Bel, and the rest of

[7] See above, p. 168. I repeat the passage here at length.

the temples in a magnificent manner, with the spoils he had taken in war. He also embellished the ancient city, and so guided the stream, that it might not again be turned by such that came against the city to besiege it. He surrounded it about with a triple enclosure without, and with a triple one within, which were built of burnt brick. And after he had fortified the city, and splendidly adorned the gates, he built a new palace near that of his father, of the magnitude and splendour of which it would be superfluous to speak. He added to it elevated stone terraces, which had the appearance of mountains; and then planted them with various kinds of trees; and prepared the celebrated suspended Paradise; to please his consort, who, having been brought up in Media, was desirous of having scenery here like that of her native country."

This account agrees in general with what is said by the prophets of the improvements and beautifying of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar; although the latter enter into no particular detail. But the statements of Josephus are in a striking manner confirmed, (with the exception of what regards the outward wall, of which nothing remains,) by the existing ruins, if a proper idea, corresponding with the circumstances, be first formed of the extent of this palace. It is not a mere palace that is to be understood, but a division of the eastern city; comprising not only the palace itself, as well as the suspended gardens, and many other great buildings, but also a

triple line of fortification for its defence. And traces of all these may even now be pointed out with all the precision that could be expected. This new palace, as I call it, to distinguish it from the more ancient one in the western quarter, comprized the whole above-mentioned triangle, of which the Euphrates, *h*—*i*, forms the somewhat irregular base, and the lines, *d e*, and *g h*, the sides. These lines also were the outermost of the three interior entrenchments. One of these sides ended in the north, near the fort, now called Mukallibe, which, whether merely a citadel, or destined for some other use, defended the palace on its northern side. The opening between the two sides, *f*, formed the grand entrance, or principal gateway, to the palace. The line *k* marks the second entrenchment; the line *l*, the third; between which, other openings occur. It was only through these three entrenchments that visitors could approach the interior part of the residence, in which was situated the royal palace, (el Kasr,) *b*, and near to it, along the river, the hanging gardens.

So far as we can gather from the words of Josephus, the palace was built by Nabopolasser, the father of Nebuchadnezzar; for he says, near to the palace of his father, built he a new one, which is understood to be the vast construction called the hanging gardens, *p*. This I believe to be the correct interpretation; for Josephus expressly says, Nebuchadnezzar's palace touched that of his father's. If we had not however this authority, either the northern fortress, or

even the great southern mound *Amram*, near *c*, might be taken for it; for as they are merely great heaps of rubbish, nothing can be determined respecting their former designation. That the hanging gardens were founded by Nebuchadnezzar, and not by Semiramis, is confirmed by Diodorus, where he says, that a Syrian (Assyrian) king built them to please his consort. If this consort be regarded as Herodotus's Nitocris, and according to his chronology, and his calling her the mother of the last king Labynedus, such would appear to be the case, then becomes cleared up how Nitocris came to be mentioned as having embellished Babylon by the great works she caused to be executed.

At all events, however, these hanging gardens, or paradises, must not be considered as merely gardens. They formed together a vast construction of terraces, of which Diodorus has left us the dimensions and description[8]. They rested upon immense buttresses; were supplied with water from the neighbouring river, by hydraulic machines; and contained, as is expressly stated by this historian[9], royal habitations, as well as gardens. That the Persian expression *paradisus* comprises all these, may be seen in the inquiry upon the Persian court. With much propriety, therefore, might these spacious works be

[8] I do not believe that these particulars, so accurately given, could have been taken from Ctesias. Perhaps they were borrowed from Megasthenes, who, according to Josephus, l. c., had described the works of Nebuchadnezzar.

[9] διαιτας βασιλικας, DIOD. i. p. 125.

called a new residence; a summer residence, in our phraseology, (though rather a winter one, as that is the only season in which man can here live in the open air,) which stood contiguous to the palace el Kasr, built by the father. That this building could be no other than the proper palace, is evident from its situation in the centre of the inhabited quarter, as well as from the nature of its materials, which entirely consist of kiln-burnt bricks, and also from the numerous fragments of costly vessels and marble which are found here.

Should, however, after all this, any doubt remain respecting the correctness of my views, it will, I should hope, vanish, upon comparing them with the account Arrian has left us respecting the latter days of Alexander[1]. According to this, Alexander fell sick after the banquet with Medius on the west side of the river; for from his residence there he caused himself to be removed in a palanquin to the river, and then in a boat *over* the river to the paradise, or hanging gardens. Here he bathed and rested in his chamber[2], and gave orders to his officers. The next day he caused himself to be removed to the house near the pond, where he offered the prescribed sacrifices[3]. This pond, therefore, was a

[1] ARRIAN. vii. 25. From the Royal Journal ἐφημέριδες βασιλικαί.

[2] Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ κατακομισθῆναι ἐπὶ κλίνης ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ πλοίοι ἐπιβάντα διαπλεῦσαι πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἰς τὸν παράδεισον· κἀκεῖ αὖθις λουσάμενον, ἀναπαύεσθαι, εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὴν καμάραν.

[3] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μετακομισθῆναι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ, καὶ θῦσαι μὲν τὰ τεταγμένα.

reservoir, or fountain in the paradise, near which was a place of sacrifice. On the following day, as he continued to grow worse, he caused himself to be removed from the paradise into the palace[4]. This, therefore, could be no other than the neighbouring palace, el Kasr, in which he died. It is an interesting labour to trace out accurately the scenes of great events; but it rarely happens that it is rewarded with so much success and certainty as in ancient Babylon. It was from the battlements of this fortress, that Nebuchadnezzar was gazing upon that royal Babel, which he had built as a witness of his power, when he was struck with the punishment of his haughty pride! Through those gates Cyrus and Alexander once triumphantly entered into Babylon! In those halls they dwelt; and here the Macedonian hero breathed his last!

Eighthly. Our observations upon the architecture of the Babylonians must be much more limited than upon that of the Persians. Of the latter, Persepolis still affords the remains of real buildings; of Babylon nothing is left but heaps of rubbish. Yet from these it is evident, that the character of the Babylonian style was totally different from that of the Persians. It here took its form from the nature of the materials, and the peculiarities of the climate.

The latter is dry and arid, and it scarcely ever rains. The summer half-year is insupportably hot, but during the winter season a most

[4] διακομισθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὰ βασίλεια.

agreeable temperature prevails; so that in the latter, the inhabitants dwell in the open air, while in summer, coolness and shade being most in request, they pass the day in grottos, or subterraneous vaults, and the nights upon the flat roofs of their dwellings. Building materials here, putting cement out of the question, are confined to one single substance, bricks, either dried in the sun, or burnt in kilns. It might consequently be naturally expected, that the greatest pains would here be taken in the manufacture and improvement of this article; and its durability alone is a sufficient test of the high degree of perfection to which the Babylonians carried it. Nowhere, says Rich, is such masonry to be seen as is found here, especially in the royal palace El Kasr. Besides this, the Babylonians excelled all other nations in the preparation and use of their cement. It was of two kinds, lime and bitumen. The latter, according to Porter, was only used in the lower parts of their buildings, as a protection against the damp and wet[5]; lime was used for the upper parts. They were both spread in layers as thin as possible, and yet were wonderfully firm. With such materials, and in such a climate, the largest buildings might be erected with a durability in proportion to their size. And had not these monuments been destroyed by the digging up and carrying away of these bricks for the erection of other cities, their great masses would still

[5] Travels, ii. p. 315.

have remained, though the exterior might perhaps have crumbled to dust. Time has not done so much to destroy them as the hand of man.

The investigations respecting the use of this building material have proved, that the two kinds, the bricks dried in the sun, and those burnt in kilns, were not used indifferently. The sun-dried were mostly employed in the formation of the interior of the masses of large foundations; while the exterior of the buildings was faced with the more beautiful fabric, manufactured in the furnace[7]. The dimensions of these bricks, according to the report of all the English travellers, vary considerably, both in their largest surface, and their thickness, a fact which proves that the use of this material did not require the same mechanical force as the building with large blocks of stone. As these, however, might have been brought down the Euphrates, they may have been employed for the paving and facings of the terraces; but it would be rash to venture an opinion upon this circumstance.

The most essential peculiarity of this architecture, however, must have arisen from the exclusion of columns, which the material made use of would not allow. Neither shafts nor capitals with their ornaments, could here be adopted. Pillars and pilasters stepped into their place. But while columns among other nations principally determine the character of their architecture, the case here

[7] PORTER'S *Travels*, ii. 330.

must have been altogether different. What degree of taste and elegance might be displayed in the formation of these brick pillars, it is certainly impossible to determine, except that it seems evident, that nothing could be executed where roundness was required[7]. This naturally leads us to consider, whether the Babylonians were acquainted with the use of the arch. That the material they used would very well allow of this, is evident from our own buildings; and the account Diodorus gives of the vast substructures of the hanging gardens, seem certainly to point to this useful part of architecture; yet neither Rich[8] nor Porter[9] discovered in any portion of the existing ruins the least trace of one, not even in the subterraneous foundations of el Kasr. The case therefore seems decided as far as it possibly can be at present.

In what relation the plastic arts, sculpture and painting, here stood with architecture, we have no means of ascertaining. The first could scarcely flourish in a land destitute of marble and stone. It is true that we read in Diodorus, in the above quoted descriptions, of hunting and other expeditions, which were represented on the walls of Semiramis's palace[1]. That these were a mixture of sculpture and painting, or coloured reliefs, similar to those in the Egyptian temples, is certainly evident from the manner in

[7] [Round columns of brick covered with cement, are, however, now common in London buildings. *Trs.*]

[8] *Memoir*, p. 59. [9] *Travels*, i. p. 122. [1] DIODOR. i. p. 122.

which Diodorus describes them; but there seems some difficulty in conceiving how these could be executed upon walls of brick. Perhaps they were cut out and filled up with colours.

Finally: One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with this subject, is, that these bricks are frequently covered with inscriptions. These are found chiefly in the walls of the royal palace el Kasr, yet not here alone; they have been met with even beyond the city, in the ruins of *al Himar,* and in other places. They are composed of a very fine clay, highly burnt, and are half a foot square, and about a full inch thick. We learn from Porter, that the side with the writing on is always turned downwards; a proof of the care taken for its preservation. Hence it may be inferred, that the Babylonians made use of these bricks as a material for writing upon, as the Egyptians did papyrus, and the Indians palm-leaves. The writing was probably impressed upon the bricks by moulds before they were burnt; an approach therefore was made towards the discovery of printing, as near as their materials would admit. The characters in which the inscriptions were made, and indeed all the Babylonian wedge shaped writing, as we learn from the investigations of Grotefend, were of one kind, derived from the second Persepolitan, but with a much greater variety of characters, though alphabetical. The language seems Babylonian, or the ancient Chaldean. Although these inscriptions have not been deciphered, and their

contents consequently remain unknown; yet an important step has already been made towards it, as their designation seems no longer doubtful. The investigations of Bellino and Grotefend, shew that they are frequently found impressed with seals on the narrow side, representing beasts or other objects. In one of these, Bellino recognized a lion (the arms of Babylon); and thought that in another he could discern the unicorn. Above these stand two lines of inscription; in the upper the same form is always repeated, but in the lower one the words vary. This circumstance led them to conclude, that they were the signature of witnesses; the first line being an equivalent to *I witness*, the under one the name of the witness, accompanied with that of his father. This naturally led to the notion, that these bricks were documents, either of public or private transactions; and that the places in which they are found should be regarded as archives[2]. It must not however be concluded from this, that all the bricks of this kind with inscriptions upon them are documents; and it would be equally precipitate, if not unreasonable, to assert, that the buildings in which they are found, are public or royal, or even belonging to the Chaldean dynasty. Grotefend, by comparing these inscriptions with those of Persepolis, found upon one of the bricks the name of Darius; and

[2] See GROTEFEND'S *Dissertation* in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, B. vi. and the Memoir presented to the Society of this place (Gottingen). *Gott. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1819, §. 1950, etc.

who can help wishing this scholar courage and opportunity to persevere in his investigations of the monuments of Babylon and Persepolis, till he shall have developed them in their full extent; especially as it is found that the correctness of his interpretation of the latter has even received an additional proof from the attempts made to refute them[3].

I think I can scarcely offer a better confirmation of the accounts the ancients have given of Babylon, whose ruins I am now quitting, than by contrasting them with a similar description, given by a writer of the middle ages, who may be called the Herodotus of his times, and whose credibility has never been questioned.

"Near Cambalu," (that is, Pekin in China,) says Marco Polo, "Kublai-Khan, the successor of Gingis-Khan, caused a new city to be erected, called Taidu. This city was twenty-four miles in circumference. No side is longer than another, but each six miles. This city is encompassed with a wall ten paces wide at the bottom, but narrower above. All the streets are built in exact lines; so that a person standing at one gate of the wall can see the opposite. The sections also for the dwellings are square. In every part are large palaces surrounded with spacious courts and gardens; so that the whole city is divided into squares similar to a draft board. The wall has twelve gates, three on each side; and at each gate is a large and splendid palace,

[3] See the postscript to Appendix, ii.

with wide roomy halls, in which are the arms of the guards. About the city are spacious suburbs, or open places, extending for three or four miles, and joining one another. In these are great caravanserais, where the merchants abide, who arrive from different countries; each nation having its own separate one. In these suburbs too dwell the public women, to the number of 25,000, who give themselves up for money. In this great city, Cambalu, the grand Khan was wont to reside the three winter months of every year."

Will not the reader almost imagine this to be another description of ancient Babylon, with its old and new city, with its walls, its gates, its straight and regular streets, and its splendid palaces? Nor can the extent of this city be much less. Herodotus's Babylon was 408 stadia (48 miles) in circumference[4]; twice that of the city built by Kublai Khan. But in the dimensions of the latter there is neither reckoned the ancient city, near to which it was founded; nor the royal residence, which, according to Marco Polo, was of still greater extent; nor the extensive suburbs and caravanserais; so that what this traveller saw could not be less altogether than ancient Babylon; and the father of history requires no farther confirmation.

Respecting the government of the Babylonian-Chaldean empire, some few particulars have been preserved, principally by the prophet Daniel. It appears, on the whole, to have been much the

[4] HEROD. i. 178.

same as that of the Persian empire, which has already been investigated. A ruler with despotic power; a court, in which eunuchs held the highest offices; an empire, divided into satrapies, governed by rulers, among whom a regular gradation of rank and title was found, and where the civil and military were often, though not always separated; collectors of tribute in the provinces; higher and inferior judges[5]. We find also a priestcaste, or priesthood, comprised under the names of Magians and Chaldeans; and which, principally by astrology and soothsaying, had a considerable influence upon the government. In what relation to society did this class stand? And how came the term Chaldeans, which originally belonged to a people, to become the name of the priesthood? These are questions which have been often agitated, but from want of sufficient information, can never be satisfactorily answered.

Although Babylon did not become a mighty empire till after the Chaldean conquest; yet every thing leads us to suppose, that it had long before been the seat of science and civilization, though principally confined to the order of priests. Unless this had been the case, how could those great works, more especially the mighty canals and lakes ascribed to their earlier rulers, without which the city could not have

[5] BERTHOLD has attempted to enumerate these various officers, and to determine the business of each, in an excursus to his *Translation of Daniel*, to which I more particularly refer the reader.

existed, or the land have been cultivated, have been executed? There is no doubt that astronomy, or rather astrology, formed a great branch of their learning; and whatever opinion may be formed of the degree of perfection to which they had carried these sciences, it seems an indisputable fact, that at the time of Alexander's conquest, astronomical observations existed, and were imparted to him, which are affirmed to reach back for nineteen centuries[6].

This, combined with various other proofs, seems to render it evident, that the Magians had been established in Babylon long before its conquest by the Chaldeans. As the primitive Magian religion had its origin in the worship of the heavenly bodies, and spread itself over so large a portion of Asia, it is the less to be wondered at, that it should have made its way into Babylon, where the continual clearness of the sky, and the peculiar brightness of the stars, greatly facilitated astronomical observations[7]. Astrology, however, was the chief support of the Magians and the priesthood, and it was principally by its practice that they maintained their authority and influence in the state. Whether, however, these earliest Magians of Babylon were disciples and followers of Zoroaster, I cannot venture to determine. The Magian doctrine, indeed, was much

[6] Very honourable for the Chaldeans is the opinion which the latest writer has given of their progress in astronomy. IDELER, *ueber der Sternkunde der Chaldæer;* among the treatises of the Berlin academy of sciences for the years 1814 and 1815, *Berlin* 1818.

[7] SIMPLIC. in ARISTOT. de cœlo, p. 123. cf. PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 56.

older than that of the Zend, as Zoroaster only appeared in the character of its reformer. How can this question be settled, when the Babylonian cylinders and gems referring to the religion of Ormuzd may very probably belong to the Persian period? If we admit indeed, that the Chaldeans, and it seems very likely, were descended from the Curds, then would they also belong to the Persian race, and could not have been strangers to the Magian doctrine, though they might have engrafted other particular points of belief upon it. And if they also had their priests, as indeed the Magian worship prescribes, there is nothing very strange in their becoming united with the Babylonian Magians. They are indeed usually mentioned with them, and are only distinguished as a separate class when spoken of definitely[8]; though the two names are often confounded[9].

In this manner, therefore, the Magians and Chaldeans formed the priestcaste in Babylon. It is certainly possible, that, according to rule, the son succeeded the father; but, that the priestcaste was not strictly hereditary, that even foreigners might be admitted to this office, if their early education had fitted them for it, is shewn by the example of Daniel and his companions[1]. At their head was the high Magian,

[8] See JOSEPHUS, *Op.* 346, 347.

[9] Thus in HEROD. i. 138. CTESIAS also confounds the Magians and Chaldeans, *Pers.* i. 15.

[1] DAN. i. 4.

whose influence was so great, that, upon the death of the father of Nebuchadnezzar, he administered the affairs of the empire until the arrival of that prince[2]. They were divided into several classes, as expounders of the sacred writings, interpreters of dreams, astronomers, and soothsayers; and again distinguished from these are the Chaldeans[3]. They dwelt not only in the capital, but also in other places; and among others, probably in establishments of which the mounds of bricks spoken of above are the remains[4]. Their connexion with the kings is clearly shewn from the history of Nebuchadnezzar. Their influence was founded upon their knowledge; but their power seems never to have been so great as in the Persian court, if we may judge from the manner in which they were treated by Nebuchadnezzar; unless, indeed, we may attribute this to the personal character of that formidable conqueror.

The boundaries of the Chaldean-Babylonian empire extended as far under Nebuchadnezzar as they ever were carried, comprising western Asia, as far as the Mediterranean. Immediately, however, upon the death of its founder, its greatness declined. Several feeble successors followed rapidly, one rising upon the overthrow of the other, till the founder of the Persian mo-

[2] JOSEPHUS, *Opera*, 349.

[3] The authorities are collected by BERTHOLD, etc.

[4] As at Akkerkuf, Al Hemar, and above all, at Borsippa, where, according to STRABO, xvi. p. 1074, there was one of their principal schools.

narchy threw the last upon the heap, and made Babylon one of the capitals of his new empire. There was no city in Asia of whose possession the Persians were more jealous; and the repeated attempts of the Babylonians to shake off the foreign yoke shew that they could not cloud the remembrance of their former might and greatness, nor stifle their repugnance to dependence and slavery.

BABYLONIANS.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce of the Babylonians.

A LAND OF TRAFFIC—A CITY OF MERCHANTS.
EZEKIEL xvii. 4.

As the European steps into a new world as soon as he has crossed the Alps, so is the contrast equally striking to the Asiatic traveller upon descending from the mountainous country of Persia and Media, or Irak Ajemi, into the plain of ancient Babylon and modern Bagdad, the capital of Irak Arabi. The connexion, frequently so mysterious and inexplicable, which exists between climates and countries, and even between climates and inhabitants, is here most remarkably exemplified. The manners of the people, their habitations, their dress, are all different. While in Persia and Media, the garments, though long, were closely fitted to the person; they are here, on the contrary, loose and flowing. The black sheepskin cap which covered the head, gives way to the lofty and proud folds of the turban; and the girdle, with its single knife,

is replaced with the costly shawl and rich poignard. "On my entrance into the city of the Caliphs," says a modern traveller[2], "I found the streets crowded with men in every variety of dress, and of every shade of complexion. Instead of the low dwellings peculiar to Persia, the houses were several stories high, with lattice windows closely shut. The great Bazaar was full of people, and I saw on all sides innumerable shops and coffee houses. The sound of voices, and the rustling of silks, reminded one of the buzzing of a swarm of bees. For even now, though but the shadow of its former splendour, Bagdad is still the grand caravanserai of Asia." But what a change has taken place in manners and modes of life! The rigid etiquette of the Persian court has disappeared; the tone of society, the relation of the sexes is under less constraint; and every thing betokens pleasure and voluptuousness. Though in the hot season the glowing sky forces the inhabitants during the day into their under ground vaults; yet they enjoy the balmy coolness of night in the open air on their housetops. The delightful temperature of the winter months, from the middle of November to that of February, compensates for the inconveniences of summer, though at the same time it offers irresistible incentives to all manner of sensual enjoyments.

It must surely have been the same in former times. Can it be supposed that those who came

[2] PORTER ii. 243, etc.

down the Euphrates from the royal cities of Persia and Media to the great city of traffic, had not the same spectacle before their eyes? But what is modern Bagdad compared with the ancient capital of the east? What crowds must have once thronged the streets and squares of that city, when the caravans of the east and west with the crews of ships trading to the south were there collected together; when the Chaldee and Persian sovereigns, with their numberless attendants, made it their residence; when it was the emporium of the world, and the great centre of attraction to all nations! How bustling and animated must not these desolate places have been formerly, where all now is still, save the call of the Bedouin, or the roaring of the lion!

The accounts of ancient Babylon given by Jewish and Grecian writers, set before us a picture of wealth, magnificence, and pomp; though at the same time, a less pleasing representation of luxury and licentiousness. Their banquets were carried to a disgusting excess, and the pleasures of the table degenerated into debauchery; nay, at the very time when the victorious Persians rushed into the city, the princes of Babylon were engaged in festivities[3]; and Belshazzar was given up to intoxication in company with thousands of his lords, when the hand which wrote on the wall of the royal banqueting house,

[3] The reader may compare the terrible description of ISAIAH xxi. 5, where it is said, that the cry of battle should frighten them from the table, with the information of XENOPHON. *Cyrop.* vii. 5. *Op.* p. 192, that the very guards were intoxicated.

and predicted his approaching fate, aroused him to the dreadful reality of his condition. But this total degeneracy of manners was above all conspicuous in the other sex, amongst whom were no traces of that reserve which usually prevails in an eastern harem. The prophet, therefore, when he denounces[4] the fall of Babylon, describes it under the image of a luxurious and lascivious woman, who is cast headlong into slavery from the seat where she sits so effeminately. Moreover, at these orgies the women appeared, where they proceeded so far as to lay aside their garments, and with them every feeling of shame[5]; nay, there was even a religious enactment, as we are informed by Herodotus[6], according to which every woman was obliged to prostitute herself to strangers in the temple of Mylitta, once in her life, and was not allowed to reject any person who presented himself.

The principal cause of this profligacy of manners was the riches and luxury consequent upon extended commerce, which Babylon owed

[4] ISAIAH xiii.

[5] CURTIUS v. 1. Nihil urbis ejus corruptius moribus; nec ad irritandas inliciendasque immodicas voluptates instructius. Liberos conjugesque cum hospitibus stupro coire, modo pretium flagitii detur, parentes maritique patiuntur. Convivales ludi tota Perside regibus purpuratisque cordi sunt; Babylonii maxime in vinum et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, perfusi sunt. Feminarum convivia ineuntium principio modestus est habitus; dein summa quæque amicula exuunt; paulatimque pudorem profanant; ad ultimum (horror auribus sit) ima corporum velamenta projiciunt, Nec meretricum hoc dedecus est, sed matronarum virginumque, apud quas comitas habetur vulgati corporis vilitas. It is plain, Curtius is not here speaking of the Bayaderes, as might perhaps be supposed.

[6] HEROD. i. 199.

to its geographical position. Climate and religion effected the rest.

I have already had occasion to notice this advantageous situation of Babylonia, in which respect it was probably superior to every other country in Asia. While this afforded admirable facilities for traffic by land, it was equally convenient for maritime and river navigation. The two large rivers which flowed on each side of it seemed the natural channels of commercial intercourse with the interior of Asia; and the Persian gulf by no means presented the same difficulties and dangers to the navigator as that of Arabia.

If we add to this, the accounts which ancient authors have given us of the industry, manners, and civil institutions of Babylon, it will be evident, that it owed its splendour and wealth to the same causes which in latter times have been the occasion of an extensive commerce to the cities of Bagdad and Bassora. They unanimously describe the Babylonians as a people fond of magnificence, and accustomed to a multitude of artificial wants, which they could not have supplied, except by commercial relations with many countries, some of them very remote. In their private life, especially in their dress, costliness appears to have been more their object, than either convenience or utility. Their public festivals and sacrifices were attended with immense expense, particularly in precious perfumes, with which they

could not have been provided but from foreign countries. The raw materials too, required for their celebrated manufactures, flax, cotton, and wool, and perhaps silk, were either not the produce of their soil, or certainly not in sufficient quantities for their consumption. Lastly, many of their civil institutions were of such a nature as only to be calculated for a city, into which there was a continual influx of strangers. On this principle alone can be explained, not only their custom of exposing sick persons in the market place, that they might meet with some one competent to prescribe for them; but also, and more particularly, the above-mentioned law, which obliged their women to prostitute themselves in the temple of Mylitta, and the public auction of marriageable virgins[7]. It has been already observed[8], that the relations of the sexes are formed in a peculiar manner in large commercial cities; and this will serve to explain many remarkable institutions of several nations in Asia.

However certain may be the evidence drawn from these principles, and the accounts of antiquity in general, viz. that Babylon was the

[7] HEYNE in his treatise: *de Babyloniorum instituto religioso*, etc. (*Commentat. Soc. Gott.* Vol. xvi.) has shewn with great learning the relation which this custom bears to the social condition of women throughout the east. Yet I cannot conceive how it could have been considered as a consecration to marriage. For from the relation of Herodotus, it appears quite plain to me, that not virgins, but women were obliged to submit to it. He uses the words ἐγχώριαι γυναῖκες, native women, not πάρθενοι virgins, under which latter term he describes the young maidens, who were submitted to the auction.

[8] Vol. i. p. 155.

great centre where all nations assembled, and whence they departed to their several destinations, yet it is difficult to enter in detail on the commerce of the Babylonians, and to settle with any degree of accuracy its nature and its course. The obscure traces of it which yet remain must be laboriously sought for in the works of Greek and Hebrew writers alone; the labour, however, will not be without its recompense, and the general result of this investigation will be a picture, which, though not complete in its subordinate details, will yet present a generally faithful outline.

As a preliminary step, however, let us take a glance at the products of Babylonian skill and industry; amongst which, weaving of various kinds deserves our first notice. The peculiar dress of the Babylonians consisted partly of woollen, and partly of linen, or probably cotton stuffs. "They wear," says Herodotus, "a gown of linen, (or cotton[8],) flowing down to the feet, over this, an upper woollen garment, and a white (woollen) tunic covering the whole." This garb, which must have been too much for so warm a climate, seems to have been assumed rather for ostentation, than to meet their actual wants, and probably some alteration was made in it as the weather became warmer. Their woven stuffs, however, were not confined to domestic use, but were exported into foreign countries. Carpets, one of the principal

[8] Λίνεον is the term Herodotus uses, which with him signifies either linen or cotton.

objects of luxury in the east, the floors of the rich being generally covered with them, were nowhere so finely woven, and in such splendid colours, as at Babylon. Particular representations were seen on them, of those wonderful Indian animals, the griffin and others, with which we have become acquainted by the ruins of Persepolis, whence the knowledge of them was brought to the west[9]. Foreign nations made use of these carpets in the decoration of their harems and royal saloons; indeed this species of luxury appears nowhere to have been carried farther than among the Persians. With them, not only the floors, but even beds, and sofas in the houses of the nobles were covered with two or three of these carpets; nay, the oldest of their sacred edifices, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargada was ornamented with a purple one of Babylonian workmanship[1].

Babylonian garments were not less esteemed; those in particular called sindones were in very high repute. It appears that they were usually of cotton, and the most costly were so highly valued for their brilliancy of colour, and fineness of texture, as to be compared to those of Media, and set apart for royal use[2]; they were even to be found at the tomb of Cyrus, which was pro-

[9] ATHEN. v. p. 197. The reader should above all compare the remarks of Böttiger on this subject, containing a fund of mythological instruction, in his interpretation der Griechischen Vasengemalde, (figures on Greek vases,) i. 111, p. 106.

[1] XENOPH. and ARRIAN, vi. 29.

[2] THEOPH. Hist. Plant., iv. 9.

fusely decorated with every description of furniture in use amongst the Persian kings during their lives[3]. The superiority of Babylonian robes and carpets will not be a matter of surprise, when we consider how near Babylon was to Carmania on the one side, and to Arabia and Syria on the other, and that in these countries the finest cotton was produced.

Large weaving establishments were not confined to the capital, but existed likewise in other cities and inferior towns of Babylonia, which Semiramis is said to have built on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and which she appointed as marts for those who imported Median and Persian goods[4]. These manufacturing towns also, were, as will soon be shewn in respect to Opis, staples for land traffic. The most famous of them was Borsippa, situated on the Euphrates, fifteen miles below Babylon, and mentioned in history before the time of Cyrus[5]. These were the principal linen and cotton manufactories, and they still existed in the age of Strabo[7].

Besides these, the Babylonians appear to have made all kinds of apparel, and every article of luxury; such as sweet waters, which were in common use, and probably necessary, from the heat of the climate; walking sticks delicately chased with figures of animals and other objects, and also

[3] ARRIAN. l. c.

[4] DIOD. i. p. 125.

[5] JOS. in APION. *Op.* p. 1045, relates that the king of Babylon, conquered by Cyrus, was imprisoned in this town.

[6] STRAB. xvi. p. 1074.

elegantly engraven stones, were in general use amongst the Babylonians.

These stones begin to form a particular class, since the curiosities called Babylonian cylinders have become less rare. Many of them have undoubtedly served for seal rings; for, in the east, the seal supplies the place of a signature, or at any rate makes it valid, as we still see on specimens of Babylonian documents. The same may be said of the cylinders. We have a striking illustration of the perfection to which the Babylonians had brought the art of cutting precious stones in the collection of M. Dorow, which contains a cylinder, formed from a jasper, bearing a cuneiform inscription, and an image of a winged Ized, or Genius, in a flowing Babylonian dress, represented in the act of crushing with each hand an ostrich, the bird of Ahriman[7].

These various manufactures and works of art presuppose an extensive commerce, because the necessary materials must have been imported from foreign countries.

We shall now trace this vast commerce of Babylon through all its branches, beginning with its land trade; and after that, proceed to investigate its navigation and maritime trade. The first will be divided according to its principal directions into eastern or Persico-Bactrian, north-

[7] *Morgenländische Alterthümer*, (Oriental Antiquities,) published by D. Dorow, first number 1818, with the draughts and interpretation of Grotefend and others. My description is taken from a cast in sulphur, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the owner.

ern or Armenian, western or Phœnician, that of Asia Minor, and the southern or Arabian. Our enquiries into the maritime trade of the Babylonians will comprehend in general their navigation and traffic in the Persian gulf.

From what has been already adduced, no doubt can be entertained that Babylon enjoyed a lively commerce with the principal countries of the Persian empire. Not only did the Persian and Median lords decorate their houses with the productions of Babylonian skill, but the kings of Persia spent a great part of the year in that city with all their numerous attendants; added to which, the satraps exhibited in the same capital a pomp but little inferior to royal magnificence[8]. Owing to this intimate connexion between the chief provinces of Persia and Babylonia, the country lying between this and Susa became the most populous and cultivated in Asia; and a highway was made from Babylon to Susa, which was twenty days' journey distant, sufficiently commodious for the baggage of an army to be conveyed on it without difficulty[9].

The investigation, however, is involved in greater difficulties as we proceed towards the east beyond Persia; though a principal country to which they traded, that is to say, Persian India, or the present Belur-land, and with the parts adjacent, whence the Babylonians imported many

[8] Vol. i. p. 481.

[9] ARRIAN. iii. 16.

of their most highly prized commodities, afford a clear proof of the direction and extent of this commerce. We have already given a geographical account of these countries, so important in ancient commerce; our present business will be therefore to describe more particularly their produce, and the relation in which they stood towards Babylon.

The first article which we may confidently assert the Babylonians to have obtained, at least in part, from these countries, were precious stones; the use of which for seal-rings was very general amongst them. Ctesias says expressly, that these stones came from India; and that onyxes, sardines, and the other stones used for seals were obtained in the mountains bordering on the sandy desert[1]. The testimonies of modern travellers have proved that the account of this author is entitled to full credit[2]; and that even at the present time the lapis lazuli is found there in its greatest perfection; and if it be added to this, that what Ctesias relates of India undoubtedly refers for the most part to these northern countries[3], we must consider it probable, that the stones in question were found in the mountains of which we are speaking; while with regard to the sapphire of the ancients, that is to say, our lapis lazuli, I have no doubt that it is a native of this country. A decisive proof is furnished by

[1] CTESIAS *Ind.* cap. 5., compared with HEROD. i. 195.
[2] Vol. i. p. 102.
[3] Vol. i. p. 345.

Theophrastus, a more recent author, but worthy of credit. "Emeralds and jaspers," says he[4], "which are used as objects of decoration, come from the desert of Bactria (of Cobi). They are sought for by persons who go thither on horseback at the time of the north wind, which blows away the sand, and so discovers them." "The largest of the emeralds called Bactrian," says he, in another place[5], "is at Tyre, in the temple of Hercules. It forms a tolerably large pillar." The passage, however, of Ctesias, to which we have referred, as a modern author has justly remarked[6], contains some indications, which, relatively to onyxes, appear to refer to the Ghât mountains; since he speaks of a hot country, not far from the sea.

The circumstance of large quantities of onyxes coming out of these mountains at the present day, viz. the mountains near Cambaya and Beroach, the ancient Barygaza, must render this opinion so much the more probable, as it was this very part of the Indian coast with which the ancients were most acquainted; and their navigation from the Persian gulf to these regions, as will be shewn hereafter, admits of no doubt. This opi-

[4] THEOPHRAST. *de lapid. Op.* p. 396.

[5] THEOPHRAST. *Op.* p. 394. This is certainly the same pillar which Herodotus mentions, ii. 44. "In the temple of the Tyrian Hercules I saw two pillars, one of pure gold, and the other of emerald, which gave light in the dark." Might not this have been of lapis lazuli, like the pillars in the church of the jesuits at Rome?

[6] *Ueber die Onyxgebirge des Ctesias in der Sammlung der Aufsätze, des Hrn Grafen von Veltheim,* (on the onyx mountains of Ctesias in the collection of the treatises of the count von Veltheim,) ii. p. 236.

nion, however, must not lead us to conclude, that the commerce of Babylon was confined to those countries; for that they were acquainted with the above-mentioned northern districts is equally certain.

Hence also the Babylonians imported Indian dogs. This breed is asserted to be the largest and strongest that exist; and, on that account, the best suited for hunting wild beasts, even lions, which they will very readily attack. The great fondness felt by the Persians for the pleasures of the chace, by whom it was regarded as a chivalrous exercise, must have increased the value and use of these animals, which soon became even an object of luxury. The Persian nobles were obliged to keep a great number of them, as they formed a necessary part of their domestic economy, and their train; and they were also accustomed to take them with them on their journeys and military expeditions. Thus Xerxes, as we are assured by Herodotus, was followed by an innumerable quantity of dogs, when he marched against Greece [7]; and an example taken from the same writer, shews to what a pitch the Persian lords and satraps had carried their luxury in this particular. Tritantæchmus, satrap of Babylon, devoted to the maintenance of these Indian dogs, no less than four towns of his government, which were exempted from all other taxes [8]. It is easy to

[7] HEROD. vii. 187.
[8] HEROD. i. 192.

settle the extent of this branch of commerce, admitting, as is reasonable, that the supply of the animals in question was not continually renewed by fresh importations, but that they were propagated in the country.

The native country of these animals, according to Ctesias[9], was that whence precious stones were obtained. And this account of the ancient author has been confirmed by a modern traveller; for Marco Polo in his account of these regions has not forgotten to mention large dogs, which were even able to overcome lions[1].

A third, and no less certain class of productions, which the Persians and Babylonians obtained from this part of the world, were dyes, and amongst them the cochineal, or rather, Indian lacca. The most ancient, though not quite accurate description of this insect, and of the tree upon which it settles, is also found in Ctesias[2]. According to him, it is a native of the country near the sources of the Indus, and produces a red, resembling cinnabar. The Indians themselves use it for the purpose of dying their garments, to which it gives a colour even surpassing in beauty the dyes of the Persians. It is evident from this passage, that these beautifully coloured Indian robes were an article of

[9] CTES. *Ind.* 5.

[1] MARCO POLO, *in Ramusio*, ii. p. 53.

[2] CTES. *Ind.* c. 21. BECKMANN. *Beiträge*, etc. 111, supposes it to be the cochineal. WILFORD, *Asiat. Res.* ix. 65, more correctly considers it the Indian lacca, an insect, which, when bruised, produces a beautiful red; as the climate is too severe for the cochineal.

commerce with western Asia; and here I cannot forbear reminding the reader of an observation already made: namely, that these mountainous countries of Candahar and Cashmire were identical with those in which sheep-breeding formed the principal occupation of the inhabitants, who reared these animals with wonderful success, on account of the abundance of silphium growing here, with which they were fed[3]. Hence we can have no doubt, that the same parts of Asia which at this day produce the finest woollen cloths, and whose shawls (a word which having passed from the Sanscrit into the Persian language, must be very ancient) are now so highly valued by ladies, both for convenience and for ornament, enjoyed the same advantages in the time of the ancient Persians, and that the harems of Susa and Babylon were decorated with these productions of the loom.

I intentionally omit to mention other objects of commerce probably obtained from India, and among them, gold and golddust, which we are assured the natives of these regions sent into Persia, as tribute. But a second, and no less interesting question demands our notice concerning this trade: viz. what was its route, and who were the people who carried it on?

Strabo[4] has preserved to us from Eratosthenes,

[3] Vol. i. sect. on *Persian India.*

[4] STRABO, p. 782. That this is an ancient road, anterior to the times of Alexander, the names of the places, which are all ancient, are sufficient to prove. Alexandria in Aria, is the same as Artakoana. See the Appendix.

a knowledge of the roads by which the commodities of the Indian districts, bordering on the Persian empire, were conveyed to its principal cities, and especially to Babylon. The usual high road, through populous and cultivated regions, first ran in a northerly direction, in order to avoid the predatory tribes which infested the desert between Persia and Media. It continued along the southern part of this desert, as far as one of the most celebrated defiles in Asia, called the Caspian gates, through which it proceeded to Hyrcania and Aria. In this latter country, taking its course along the foot of the high and woody Hyrcanian and Parthian mountains, the road thence turned northward toward Bactra. This is the same which Alexander followed in his expedition against the Bactrians; and though he left it occasionally to attack the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains, he always returned to it. In Arrian[5], it bears the name of the great military road.

The great commercial route to India was the same as this as far as Aria. Here, however, it took a different, that is to say, an easterly direction, while the other proceeded northward towards Bactra. Thence it ran to Prophthasia, Arachotus, and Ortospana, where it divided itself into three branches. One of these went due east to the borders of India; perhaps the second had a similar direction, with a little inclination to the south; and the third turned northward

[5] ARRIAN. iii. 21. Λεωφόρος ὁδός.

towards Bactria, and formed the great road, through which India had communication with this country and its capital, Bactra.

This city must then be regarded as the commercial staple of eastern Asia. Its name belongs to a people who never cease to afford matter for historical details from the time they are first mentioned. Not only does Bactra constantly appear as a city of wealth and importance in the age of the Persian empire; but it is continually interwoven, in the traditions of the east, with the accounts of Semiramis and other conquerors[6]. It is situated on the borders of the gold country, "in the road of the confluence of nations," according to an expression in the Zendavesta; and the conjecture, that in this part of the world the human race made its first advance in civilization, becomes highly probable from the facts which have been mentioned in the course of the present investigation.

We cannot entertain any doubt as to the persons through whose hands the commodities of India came to Bactra. It is evident, from what has been said before, that the natives of the countries bordering on little Thibet and others, or the northern Indians of Herodotus and Ctesias, formed the caravans which travelled into the gold desert, and that it was the same people from whom western Asia obtained ingredients for dyeing, and also the finest wool. But it may be asked how far this commerce extended?

[6] DIOD. i. p. 117.

whether it comprised the countries beyond the desert? and this question is involved in very great difficulties.

The name of Serica is not mentioned by the writers of this period, nor for some time afterwards; when it does appear, it is only an indefinite appellation for the countries beyond the desert of Cobi, whence silk was imported; and therefore does not exclusively denote the present Tangut, but also Coshotei, and as much of China as they were acquainted with. There can be no question of commodities, indisputably Chinese, so long as the age of the silk trade continues unsettled. One of the most celebrated of modern writers has brought down the commerce with China to the third century before the Christian era; but has overlooked a passage in an author contemporary with the Persian monarchy, from which, although the higher antiquity of commercial relations with the extreme east of Asia is not certainly established, at any rate it becomes extremely probable.

"The country where gold is found, and which the griffins infest," says Ctesias, "is exceedingly desolate. The Bactrians, who dwell in the neighbourhood of the Indians, assert, that the griffins watch over the gold; though the Indians themselves deny that they do anything of the kind, as they have no need of the metal, but, (say they,) the griffins are only apprehensive on account of their young, and these are the objects of their protection. The Indians go armed into

the desert, in troops of a thousand or two thousand men. But we are assured that they do not return from these expeditions till the third or fourth year[7]."

It is clear, from the foregoing statement, that the Indians here mentioned were no other than the natives of northern India; and by the desert where they found gold, must be understood the sandy desert of Cobi, bounding Tangut on the west, and China on the north. With regard, however, to the account of Ctesias, that caravans of a thousand or two thousand men travelled into this desert, and returned after three or four years laden with gold—what other direction could this journey have had, than to the rich countries in the most remote and eastern part of Asia[8]? I willingly leave it to the reader to judge what degree of probability there is to support this conjecture. The distant obscurity indeed prevents our having a clear view, yet this very obscurity possesses a certain charm.

We are indebted to Strabo[9] for an account of the road by which the wares of Babylon were conveyed to the shores of the Mediterranean.

[7] DE GUIGNES, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscrip.*, t. xlvi.

[8] CTES. *ap. Æl. Hist. An.*, iv. 27. Compare with this passage the time which Ptolemy assigns for the journey to Serica, (i. 11.) Reckoning from the eastern limit of little Bucharia near Sertem, seven months were necessary to reach the capital of Serica: and from Bactra to Sertem five more, a year altogether. If we allow the same time for returning, it will be evident that the caravans could only be at home in the third year. In my enquiries concerning the Indians, I shall return to this subject, when I hope to place it in a clearer light.

[9] STRAB. p. 1084.

It ran in a due northern direction through the midst of Mesopotamia, and reached the Euphrates near Anthemusia, five and twenty days' journey distant, where it turned off towards the west, to the Mediterranean. This could have been only a caravan road, because a numerous company of merchants would be necessary for mutual defence against the predatory nomad tribes, the Scenites, who infested the desert; or indeed for procuring a safe passage by the payment of a ransom. I cannot advance it as certain, that this road was generally used under the Persian dynasty; yet it appears in the highest degree probable from the circumstance, that roads were seldom or never altered by the ancients.

Another great military road, described by Herodotus, from station to station, and leading to Sardis, and other Greek commercial towns in Asia Minor, was made by the Persian kings at a vast expense. It is not, indeed, to be doubted, that political reasons were a principal inducement to the formation of this road, because the Persians, when they were engaged in war with the Greeks, scarcely set so high a value upon any of their provinces, as they did upon Asia Minor, with which they were very desirous to further and maintain an uninterrupted communication. But we moreover learn from the description of Herodotus, that it was a commercial road, upon which caravans travelled from the chief cities of Persia into Asia Minor. According to him the road began from Susa, and not

from Babylon; yet the vicinity of these two cities, and their intimate connexion, which has been remarked above, renders this a circumstance of no importance. The passage of the Greek historian deserves to be communicated entire to the reader[1].

"The following," says he, "is an account of the military road from Sardis and Ephesus to Susa. Royal stations and magnificent caravanserais[2] continually succeed each other in all parts of it; and it passes through an inhabited and safe region all the way. First, (from Sardis,) there are twenty stations through Lydia and Phrygia, or ninety-four parasangs[3] and a half. Leaving Phrygia, we come to the river Halys, near which there is a guarded passage, necessary to be passed in our way over the river. On the other side of the river we come to Cappadocia, and through this country to the Cilician[4] mountains; comprehending twenty-eight stations, or a hundred and four parasangs. We penetrate into these mountains by a double defile, which is entrusted to a double frontier

[1] HEROD. v. 52.

[2] Καταλύσεις, lodging places. There are no inns in the east answering to those of Europe, but caravanserais, as I have translated the term employed by Herodotus.

[3] The parasang, according to Herodotus, was equivalent to thirty stades, about three English miles.

[4] Cilicia, according to the same author, extended as far as Cappadocia, along the upper Euphrates, and comprehended the region afterwards named Little Armenia. Compare v. 49. And therefore by the term Cilician mountains, we are to understand all that chain which reaches to mount Caucasus.

guard, and then traverse through Cilicia, a space of three stations, or fifteen parasangs and a half. The river Euphrates, which can only be passed by a ferry, separates Cilicia from Armenia[5], in which there are fifteen stations, or fifty-six parasangs and a half. There is here also a frontier guard, and four rivers, which are crossed in boats. The first is the Tigris; the second and third bear the same appellation, without being either the same rivers, or flowing from the same country[6], as the first of them comes out of Armenia, and the other out of the land of the Matienians; the fourth is the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty branches. From Armenia into the land of the Matienians there are four stations; and eleven stations, or forty-two parasangs and a half from this country into that of the Cissians[7], as far as the river Choaspes, which must likewise be passed in boats; and on the banks of this river stands the city of Susa. Thus in the journey from Susa to Sardis there are one hundred and eleven[8] stations, with the same number of caravanserais."

This principal road of Asia, once so famous, having undergone no other alteration than that occasioned by its different limits, is now com-

[5] In Herodotus, Armenia comprehends all northern Mesopotamia.

[6] Without doubt, the greater and lesser Zabus, of which the first springs from the mountains which bound Media or those of Matiene; the other from the mountains of Armenia.

[7] That is to say, Susiana, or Chusistan, the inhabitants of which Herodotus calls Cissians.

[8] See the Appendix, on the incorrectness of this number.

monly used by caravans from Ispahan to Smyrna; Tavernier[9] has given us a full description of it. Its present course is from Smyrna to Tokat, and thence to Erivan. Only the last half has varied; for, in order to be in the direction of Ispahan, the traveller now proceeds north-east, beyond the lake of Ormia; whereas the ancients, on the contrary, without going so far east, inclined more to the south, and followed the course of the Tigris.

On the whole, however, the ancient and modern roads agree in one particular, the reason of which we are told by Herodotus; that is to say, they chose the longer in preference to the shorter way, that they might travel through inhabited countries, and in security. The direct road would have led them through the midst of the steppes of Mesopotamia; where security would have been quite out of the question, on account of the roving predatory hordes. Therefore in ancient times, as well as the present, they chose the northern route along the foot of the Armenian mountains, where the traveller enjoyed security from molestation and an abundant supply of all necessaries.

As to the rest, the division into stations was evidently adopted for the advantage of the caravans. According to Herodotus, the distance between each station was five parasangs, a journey of seven or eight hours; and this we learn from Tavernier, is exactly the space which caravans consisting of loaded camels are accustomed to

[9] TAVERNIER, t. i. p. 68.

traverse, in the course of a day[0]; but those of horses travel much faster. As this road, however, was perfectly safe, there can be no doubt, that single merchants and travellers performed the journey alone.

A third branch of Babylonian commerce in the interior of Asia had a northern direction; particularly to Armenia. The Armenians had the advantage of the Euphrates to convey their wares to Babylon; and amongst these, wine, which the soil of Babylonia did not produce, was the principal. Herodotus has described this navigation; and we learn from him that the ships or floats of the Armenians were constructed similarly to those which are at present seen on the Tigris, under the appellation of Kilets[1]. The skeleton only was of wood; this had a covering of skins overlaid with reeds; and an oval form was given to the whole, so that there was no difference between the stern and prow. They were filled with goods, especially large casks of wine, and then guided down the stream by two oars. The size of these barks varied considerably; Herodotus observed some which were rated at more than five thousand talents' burthen. On their arrival at Babylon, the conductors sold not only the cargo, but also the skeleton; the skins, however, were carried back by land on

[0] TAVERNIER i. p. 99.

[1] HEROD. i. 194. TAVERNIER i. p. 184. POTTER ii. p. 259, gives an exact description of them. According to him, bladders filled with air were fastened to them to prevent their sinking.

asses, which they brought with them for the purpose; since, as the historian has remarked, the force of the stream rendered it impossible for them to return up the river; thus in Germany, the market boats which go down the Danube to Vienna never return, but are sold with the commodities which they convey.

We shall be led to conclude, that the navigation of the Euphrates must have been very important, if we recollect the great works which were performed in order to secure it. Herodotus speaks of it as extraordinary; and, truly, if we believe, as there is great probability for doing, that this trade was confined to the consumption of Babylon, it must necessarily have been very considerable, from the immense population of the city, and from the peculiarity of its soil, which, as it yielded a superfluity of some things, was necessarily quite deficient in others. Hence the Babylonians were obliged to import from the northern regions those necessaries of life which their own soil failed to produce; and we shall have more distinct notions respecting this trade, if we recollect that Herodotus includes under the name of Armenia, in addition to the mountainous district which may be termed Armenia Proper, also the whole of that rich and fruitful country, northern Mesopotamia.

Further, with whatever difficulties the navigation of the Euphrates, when against the stream, may have been attended, even supposing them to have been insurmountable by barks of the

above-mentioned construction; yet Herodotus is mistaken when he declares it absolutely impossible. At all events it was practised, and considered as a continuation of the trade on the Persian gulf, as the precious commodities of the southern regions were hence conveyed up the stream to Thapsacus, and from that place into the other parts of Asia by caravans. This investigation is most intimately connected with the question concerning the maritime trade and navigation of the Babylonians, one of the most difficult which antiquity presents to us, and involved in almost total obscurity; the only way by which any light can be thrown on the subject, is to obtain, in the first place, a more exact knowledge of the state of the Persian gulf at that time, as being the principal theatre of this commerce.

A single glance at the map will be sufficient to shew, that the situation and nature of the Persian gulf rendered it eminently qualified to be the common emporium for the whole southern Asiatic trade, or that with Arabia and India. Its very configuration afforded it great advantages over the Arabian gulf. While the latter resembles a long and narrow canal, studded every where with rocks and islands; the Persian gulf, on the other hand, presents to our view a large and spacious basin, of almost equal extent with the gulf of Bothnia, and by the extreme smallness of its mouth, breaks the waves of the Indian ocean; it presents, too, fewer dangers to navi-

gation from hidden rocks, as its shores are almost free from them. Beside this, the streams which it receives appear like so many roads of trade for transporting commodities into the interior of Asia. Hence few countries can be found where nature has done so much for man; and the history of the middle ages, in which the names of Ormus, Bassora, and other cities frequently occur, proves that her labours were not in vain; and it required nothing less than the different direction which the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope gave to Indian commerce, to deprive the Persian gulf of this preeminence.

The ancients considered as the beginning of this gulf, the narrow strait formed by the cape of Makae or Dsiulfar on the Arabian shore, and that of Ormus or Harmozia on the Persian; the broad embouchure between Oman and Carmania not being reckoned as part of it. The above-mentioned strait is so small, that the promontories on both sides may be distinctly seen from the middle. But as soon as we pass beyond this entrance, the shores fall off on both sides, and give to the gulf that oval shape with which it is represented in our maps. We shall now conduct the reader along these two shores to the mouth of the Euphrates; and take for our guide, together with Strabo, the relation of Arrian, drawn from Nearchus, who sailed along and described the whole eastern coast[3].

[3] For what follows, the reader may compare ARRIAN'S *Indica*, *Op.* p.

After Nearchus had passed the mouth of the Indus with Alexander's fleet, and had sailed through the entrance of the gulf, he kept on the right hand according to his plan, and followed the line of the eastern coast. However, he saw in the distance the high promontory of Makae or Dsiulfar. After sailing sixteen miles, he landed in the fruitful and populous country of Harmozia, which produced every thing but olive trees; and here the wearied mariners first reposed from their fatigues and dangers. This is no other than the valley of Ormus, which extends two days' journey along the sea coast[4]. Opposite to this, on a small island, the commercial city of Ormus was afterwards erected under the Caliphs; but the account of Nearchus shews that the name is much older. According to Marco Polo, a number of large rivers, of which Nearchus mentions the Aramis, water this valley, which abounds with dates, parrots, fruits, and animals of various kinds, very different from ours. While the ships were repairing in this place, Nearchus hastened by land to the army of Alexander, in order to announce the happy arrival of his fleet, and took the same road which as been so well described by Marco Polo, at that time infested with bands of robbers, who took refuge in the mountains behind the valley, and therefore extremely

19, etc. A full investigation, of which I can here give only the result, will be found in my treatise, *De prisca sinus Persici facie, in Commentat. Soc. Goetting.* t. xiii. p. 138.

[4] For what follows, compare MARCO POLO *in Ramusio* ii. p. 8, 9.

dangerous. On his return, he continued his voyage, and landed twice on the large island of Oaracta (now Broet)[5], which produced vines, palms, and corn, and was under the government of a Persian named Macenes, who was his attendant to Susa. They were shewn in this island the tombs of the ancient kings; a circumstance which proves, that it was once independent, and inhabited from a considerable time back. He passed by another small and uninhabited island, named Organa, (now Aragan,) on his left hand. Of the remaining small islands which are in the vicinity, Nearchus mentions the name of one more, Pylorus, (now Malora,) and alludes to another without a name, probably Talengo, which is said to have been dedicated to Neptune. He now approached the coast of Carmania, which here seemed to him uninhabited; and after that, reached the island Catæa, probably Keiche, where was the boundary between Persia and Carmania. On the Persian coast, he landed at a place called Ila, (now Cailo,) opposite the small island Caicandros, (now Androvari,) and on the following morning, reached another island which is not named, where there was a pearl fishery. From a comparison of situations, this appears to have been the same as the island Lara. Along the coast

[5] For what follows, I have made use of the map of DELISLE, as well as that of NIEBUHR, to determine the modern names of the islands. From a comparison of these geographers with Nearchus, it appears that the greater part of them have been disfigured by Greek terminations, or by transcribers.

he saw many villages thickly inhabited, and ships in the roadstead; there was also no want of palms and fruit trees like those of Greece. From hence he proceeded to Gogorna (Congon), at the mouth of a small river, and after having observed several other small rivers which are to be found in the map, he came to Hieratis (probably Corsiara), situated on a river of the same name, where he saw many gardens and fruit trees. Pursuing his voyage, and, as before, incurring danger from rocks and shallows, he arrived at the mouth of the large river Aresas (now Rasain), which separated Persis and Susiana, as it now divides Fars from Chusistan. Next followed the coast of Susiana, which was so dangerous from shallows, that the inhabitants were accustomed to direct the course of ships by setting up long poles. He then crossed ove the Choaspes, called in Arrian the Pasitigris; passed by the inland sea into which the Tigris empties itself; and at length reached the mouth of the Euphrates, where was situated the commercial town of Tenedon, otherwise called Diridotis.

I wish it were in my power to impart to the reader an equally exact and authentic description of the western coast of the Persian gulf; but here, alas! we have no Nearchus, whose testimony we might use as that of an eyewitness; for on account of the many dangerous rocks and shallows, navigators have always preferred the opposite side of the gulf[6].

[6] THEVENOT ii. p. 298, etc.

All this part of Arabia, from the Euphrates to cape Dsiulfar, is included by the Arabs under the name of Hadjer, or Bahrein; and it is one of the parts of our globe with which we are the least acquainted. It is moreover neither sterile nor without water; but, on the contrary, abounds in dates and other productions; nevertheless, the the sand which is blown hither from the neighbouring desert not only turns this line of coast into a waste, but obstructs the passage through it, and chokes up the road[7]. It is at this day inhabited by the Wahhabites.

In the accounts of antiquity, only one city appears throughout this coast, Gerrha, situated near a bay, which takes its name from it; but for this very reason, it is so much the more remarkable to the historical inquirer into the commerce of the ancients. It occupied the very same position which Lachsa does now, under the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude, or perhaps a few miles farther north near the present El Katif. Here there are, according to the account of a modern traveller, monuments of stone with inscriptions; though inconsiderable, it is at this day, a city provided with all the necessaries of life; and date trees are found in its vicinity[8]. "When" says Strabo[9], who here speaks from the accounts of the followers of Alexander, "we have tra-

[7] BUSCHING'S *Asia*, p. 559. OTTER, *Voyage* ii. p. 74.

[8] *History of Seyd Said, Sultan of Muscata*, by SHEIK MANSUR, (an assumed name,) a native of Rome. London, 1819. North of El Katif, a desert begins, twenty days' journey in length.

[9] STRAB. p. 1110.

velled along the coast 2,400 stades, we arrive at Gerrha, built by a colony of Chaldeans from Babylon. It is situate in a country abounding in salt, of which the houses of the inhabitants are constructed; and these it is necessary to moisten frequently, that they may not split, through the heat of the sun. The city is 200 stades from the sea. Its inhabitants transport the goods of the Arabians and spices by land; though Aristobulus says, they fequently went in ships to Babylon, and sailed as far up as Thapsacus, from whence their wares were carried into all parts." I shall soon find occasion to say more of this colony from Babylon, and of its commerce.

The continuation of the coast as far as the cape Makae or Dsiulfar, offers nothing remarkable; along it, however, there are sand banks, which, time out of mind, have been celebrated for pearl fishery. The cape Dsiulfar, according to Nearchus, was situated in a desert country; but the adjoining district towards the south, by name Oman, is one of the richest and most fruitful in Arabia, and in former times rendered the cape itself an emporium of commerce, as I shall presently shew.

First, however, there remains an investigation as obscure as it is important, concerning some islands situated near this coast, which, as they are said to have been eminent trading places, must not be passed over in silence. In the Greek geographers, for instance, we read of two

islands named Tyrus or Tylos, and Aradus, which boasted that they were the mother country of the Phœnicians, and exhibited relics of Phœnician temples. The Hebrew poets, on the other hand, mention another, by the name of Daden, whose caravans travelled with valuable merchandize into the north of Arabia.

The Greek geographers do not agree as to the position of Tylus and Aradus; wherever, therefore, we fix their situation, it will still be liable to objections. For my own part, however, I am convinced that these two islands were the same as those at this day called Bahrein. I shall first communicate to the reader my reasons for this opinion, which may be taken both from the situation, and from the names given them by the ancients; yet without concealing the objections to which it is liable.

Pliny and Strabo are the principal authorities, yet they are both indebted to more ancient authors. "On sailing farther (south) from Gerrha," says Strabo[1], "we come to two islands, where there are to be seen Phœnician temples, and the inhabitants assure us, that the cities of Phœnicia bearing the same name are colonies from them. These islands are ten days' sail from Tenedon, (Diridotis, at the mouth of the Euphrates,) and one from Cape Makae." From the account of Strabo, so much is evident; viz. that these islands must be sought for to the south of

[1] STRAB. p. 1110. PLIN. vi. 28. The latter names Arad, little Tylos, which he reports to be ten miles from great Tylos.

Gerrha; yet what distance they were from the bay of Gerrha is not to be determined with certainty by this passage; here however Pliny comes to our assistance. "Tylos," says he, "is fifty miles from the bay of Gerrha." This calculation exactly suits the Bahrein islands, which are just that distance from the present bay of Lachsa, or, as it is also called, el Katif. Moreover, the ten days' sail mentioned by Strabo from the mouth of the Euphrates are no objection; for although it is only a distance of sixty or seventy miles, yet on the eastern side Nearchus spent a much longer time in the very same navigation.

The situation then of Aradus and Tyrus would seem to be sufficiently determined by the testimony of Strabo and Pliny, if there were not a difficulty in the account of the former, when he adds, "from these islands to Makae, (or the mouth of the Persian gulf,) there is a distance of one day's navigation." This is impossible, if we suppose him to be speaking of the islands named Bahrein; we ought rather, in this case, to seek them in the group off Ormus; to which opinion, however, the account of Pliny is opposed.

The report of the followers of Alexander, who were sent by him to discover the western coast of Arabia, countenances another view of the question[2]. "They were informed that there were two islands in the sea beyond the mouth of the Euphrates. The first not far from it, at a distance of a hundred and twenty stades, (about

[2] ARRIAN. vii. 20.

twelve miles,) was very woody, and contained a temple of Artemis, surrounded by habitations of the inhabitants. That there was in it a multitude of wild goats and roe bucks, which were never killed; and that the island had received the name of Icarus from Alexander." (The situation of this small island before the mouth of the Euphrates is sufficiently determined, to make it evident that it can be neither of those mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. It is probably the same as that which is called Bubeân in the map of Niebuhr; but as the country has been so much changed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, we cannot come to any certainty on this point.) "That the second island was at the distance of a day and night's navigation, supposing a favourable wind from the Euphrates: that it was named Tylos, was of considerable magnitude, produced a quantity of excellent fruits, and was neither mountainous nor woody." Here we have another Tylos, evidently of a different situation from that of Strabo and Pliny. It is probably the Cathema[3] of our maps, situate in 29° N. Lat. 48° 30″ Long. All this, however, proves nothing more than that the name of Tylos, or Tyrus, has been improperly given to this island; and the voucher of it is one Archias, whom Alexander sent to explore Arabia and Tylos; but he had not courage to sail farther than the island in question, and therefore was willing to find Tylos here. This

[3] This island is to be seen in the map of Delisle, but not in that of Niebuhr.

confusion of names has been already noticed by an old grammarian, who informs us that Arrian mistook Anata for Tylos[4].

From what has been said, two things occur to us: first, that the name of Tylos has been taken for that of several islands in the Persian gulf; and secondly, that the islands Tylos and Aradus, where relics of the Phœnicians were found, were those named Bahrein, according to the definite accounts of ancient writers; and the critic will have no hesitation in preferring these to vague and indeterminate notions.

To these geographical proofs another may be added, which arises out of the name. The smallest of the Bahrein islands has preserved the ancient appellation of Aradus, for it is still called Arad[5]; this will carry conviction to those who are aware how little Asiatic appellations are subject to change.

The question repecting the island Daden of the Hebrews remains to be considered. This question, which is extremely important in considering the commerce of the ancients, is answered by the help of the oriental geographers, so far with certainty, as the island is either one of the Bahrein, or the rather more northerly one of Cathema[6]. It is not necessary to settle this

[4] STEPH. *de Urb. v.* Τύρος. The island Anata is no longer known. Might it not have been a corruption for Cathema?

[5] See NIEBUHR'S *Map.*

[6] The proofs, which, to detail here, would be out of place, may be found in Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* tom. III. pars II. p. 160, 564, 604, 744. Difficulties arise here not merely from want of maps, but also from the variation and confusion of names. Dadein or Daden is also frequently

point with greater exactness, considering that these islands are at no great distance from each other, and in general, what the Greek and Hebrew writers have said of the islands Tyrus, Aradus, and Daden, will apply to those in the bay of Gerrha, especially to the Bahrein islands.

According to the report of a modern traveller[7], there exist several places on the coast of the Persian gulf, whose names seem to indicate a Phœnician origin; such are, Sidodona on the eastern side, and a city named Szur, (Tur, Tyrus,) which Niebuhr[8] calls Sur, and describes as having a good harbour in Oman, on the western side; these appear to prove that the Phœnicians had colonies on the continent, as well as in the islands. Niebuhr was acquainted with, and has described another harbour called Tur, at the entrance of the gulf of Suez[9].

It was necessary to give these geographical notices with regard to the Persian gulf previously to investigating its ancient navigation. I would, however, request the reader to refer to the times anterior to the Persian dominion, or

called Dirin; and it may be conjectured, that from hence arose the name of Dehroon, which is given to one of the Bahrein islands in the map of Delisle. If that were the case, then Dedan would not be Cathema, as Assemani asserts, but the island mentioned above; and this is rendered probable by the resemblance of names, which is a certain guide in comparing the modern and ancient geography of Asia.

[7] Dr. SEETZEN, in *Zach's Monatl. Correspond. for Sept.* 1813. See the Appendix.

[8] NIEBUHR'S *Description of Arabia*, p. 307. 25° N. L. He has also a place named Sur, south of Muscat, 22½° N. L.

[9] NIEBUHR'S *Travels*, i. 259.

the period[1] of the Chaldaico-Babylonian empire, since this navigation suffered great changes under the Persians, as will presently be shewn.

That the Babylonians possessed a maritime navigation, when their power was at its height, may be gathered, in general, from the predictions of the contemporary Jewish prophet Isaiah[2]. "Thus saith the Lord your deliverer; for your sakes have I sent to Babel, and thrown to the ground all obstacles, and the Chaldeans, who exult in their ships." This is a graphic description of a people no less proud of their ships than of their gates and ramparts. But more definite information is preserved to us in the Greek writers, who deserve the utmost attention of the historical enquirer. Æschylus, in his play of the Persians, enumerating the nations who composed the army of the great king, speaks as follows: "Babylon too, that abounds in gold, sends forth a promiscuous multitude, who both embark in ships, and boast of their skill in archery."

The accounts of these writers, dispersed as they are through a multitude of different works, and sometimes at variance with each other, ne-

[1] From 630 to 550. B. C.

[2] ISAIAH xliii. 14. according to the translation of Michaelis. Gesenius has it differently: "For your sakes sent I to Babel, and drive all its fugitives, and the Chaldees, to their ships which are their delight." To which he has the following note: "The fugitives are the people collected together in the commercial city of Babel, (consequently different from the Chaldees,) who, on the invasion of the enemy, take refuge in the ships of their delight, their joy, or tumultuous pleasure; for these vessels, instruments of the magnificence of Babel, were commonly filled with crowds of rejoicing people."

vertheless concur in representing Babylon as a city, which received the merchandize of the south, Arabian and Indian productions, by means of the Persian gulf; and they put it in our power sometimes to point out clearly the course and limit of this trade, and sometimes to give an obscure glimpse of it.

Amongst these, Strabo's information concerning Gerrha and Tylos merits a closer examination[1]. Gerrha, according to him, was a Chaldean colony; that is, from Babylon. Although, when he adds that it was founded by Chaldean emigrants, it does indeed appear to have been the consequence of some political revolution, with which we are unacquainted; or at any rate, to have owed its rise to a colony of priests, and not to any purpose of extending commerce; this is a consideration of very little importance, so long as we are satisfied that it had a flourishing trade, and constant intercourse with Babylon. We have no certain account with respect to the period of its foundation; yet since the contemporaries of Alexander described it as a rich commercial town, it is evident that the brilliant period of this colony must be referred to the era of the Macedonian conqueror.

We are assured by Agatharchides[2] that the inhabitants of Gerrha were one of the richest people in the world; and that for this they were indebted to their traffic with Arabian and Indian

[1] STRAB. 1110.

[2] AGATHARCHIDES *de rubro mari; in Geogr. min.* HUDSON. i. p. 60.

commodities, which they transported into the west by means of caravans, and to Babylon by their ships; for although they inhabited a barren district themselves, yet were they in the vicinity of Arabia Felix, the native country of frankincense and other perfumes, which the Babylonians consumed in great quantities[3].

These precious goods were carried to Babylon, in such abundance, that a vast overplus which remained, after the capital was supplied, was conveyed up the Euphrates to Thapsacus, and then, by land, over the whole of western Asia[4]. As, therefore, Babylon was the emporium on the river Euphrates, in like manner the Tigris had the city Opis, which was a few miles above Bagdad, and not far from the Median wall, so called, the limit of Babylonia. Thither the inhabitants of Gerrha had directed their navigation from very ancient times, although, for reasons which I shall presently explain, the Persians interrupted it[5]; and undoubtedly Opis was their emporium, from whence merchandize was conveyed by the caravan trade into the interior of Asia[6].

Gerrha had, as appears from Strabo, another advantage from its situation; that of being in a country which contained an abundance of salt.

[3] According to Herodotus, a thousand talents of frankincense were annually consumed in the temple of Bel or Belus alone by the Chaldeans.

[4] STRAB. l. c. from Aristobulus.

[5] STRAB. p. 1074. cf. ARRIAN. vii. 7.

[6] STRAB. p. 1075. He names Opis expressly as the emporium of the circumjacent region.

We shall shew, in speaking of Africa, how great an advantage this is for regions where, as in Arabia and Africa, salt is scarce. Though we are not acquainted how far Gerrha profited by this gift of nature, in a commercial point of view, we may reasonably suppose she would not overlook the advantages which might be derived from it.

The formidable desert, which separated this city from the fruitful countries of Asia, served to protect her from the victorious nations, who ravaged the interior of this quarter of the globe; and hence its revolutions in general operated but slightly on Arabia. While, however, the peculiarity of its situation opposed to the conqueror a boundary, which he never passed, it could not repel the advances of merchants stimulated by the hope of gain; and, with them Gerrha was obliged to share its rich commerce. The Phœnicians had found out the way to this coast through the sandy desert of Arabia, and, as usual, were attracted by the neighbouring islands. They chose the above-mentioned one of Tylos or Daden, and Aradus, for the purpose of forming commercial establishments; and were induced hereunto not only by the productions of these islands, but by the hope of participating in the East Indian trade. Amongst the former, the pearl fishery first claims our notice. It is generally known that the finest pearls are found in the Persian gulf, and near the island of Ceylon. The shellfish which produce them are found in almost all the islands of this gulf; but

the most considerable bank is that which extends along the western coast from the Bahrein islands nearly as far as cape Dsiulfar[7]. Nearchus, in his journal, mentions this ancient pearl fishery[8]. It is true that he only speaks of the island Catæa on the eastern coast, for he did not see the Arabian coast or its islands; but he must of necessity suppose, that if those small and often uninhabited islands were frequented by pearl fishers, the ever active mind of the Phœnician in point of commerce, could not have overlooked the treasures which the larger islands presented to them. One of the latest British travellers who have explored these regions, informs us how extremely productive this fishery is, or might be made. "There is no place in the world," says Morier, "where more pearls are found; the bottom of the sea being quite covered with the shellfish. The island Bahrein, with Karek, is considered the richest bed of pearls; the fishery, however, has been followed with less eagerness, since the removal of the English market to Ceylon. At present, the principal market is at Muscat, from whence the greatest number of them are carried to Surat. Those in the Persian gulf are yellow or white; the latter of which are taken to Asia Minor and Constantinople, chiefly for the supply of the seraglio. While the pearl of Ceylon shivers in pieces, that of the Persian gulf is

[7] See NIEBUHR'S *Map*.

[8] ARRIAN. *Ind. Op.* p. 194.

as hard as a rock. The largest are at the bottom of the sea, and divers go down ten or fifteen fathoms under water[0]." But we need say no more to shew the great importance of this branch of commerce to the ancients.

Another production of these islands, or at least of the largest of them, that is to say, cotton, must have been a great attraction to the Babylonians. Theophrastus informs us, that there were at Tylos such large plantations of cotton trees, that a considerable part of the island was, as it were, quite covered with them[1]; and modern accounts give us to understand that cotton is produced at this day on the eastern coast of Arabia[2]. It is highly probable, that these plantations were the fruit of a commercial intercourse with India, the native country of cotton. Tylos might not indeed have produced enough to supply the manufactories of Babylon; but whatever this island furnished would be doubly valuable, because it was close at hand, and the conveyance without difficulty.

A comparison of Herodotus with Theophrastus renders it very probable that the Babylonians imported a third commodity from this island, which, although it may appear insignificant, I cannot entirely pass over in silence. Herodotus, in describing the magnificence of the Babylonians,

[0] MORIER, *first Voyage*, p. 53, etc.

[1] THEOPH. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 9. cf. PLIN. xii. 10, 11. According to him, little Tylos or Aradus was still more productive in cotton than the large island.

[2] OTTER, *Voyage*, ii. p. 74.

adds, that it was a general custom amongst them to carry a walkingstick or cane, elegantly chased with the representation of some emblem[3]. It appears from Theophrastus, that this came from Tylos. "There grows in this island," says he[4], "a tree from which the most handsome sticks are cut. They are streaked and spotted like the skin of a tiger, and very heavy; but fly in two when struck against any hard substance." This brief description is not sufficient for us to determine botanically the species of the tree, though shewing very plainly that it has nothing to do with the bamboo, which has neither this heaviness nor hardness.

But there was another production peculiar to this island, which contributed much more to its value than these which have been mentioned. It has been already remarked in another place that Babylon was totally deficient in timber, with the exception of the date and cypress tree, both which, however, are little suited for ship-building. This applies also to the coasts of the Persian gulf, and would, therefore, have put an insurmountable obstacle in the way of that navigation, if the deficiency had not been supplied by the island of Tylos. "There is in this island," says Theophrastus[5], "a species of timber for ship-building, which, under water resists all tendency to putrefaction, lasting for upwards of two hun-

[3] HEROD. i. 195.

[4] THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Pl.* v. 6.

[5] THEOPHRAST. l. c. PLIN. xvi. 41.

dred years; but out of water it decays much sooner." To this Pliny adds, that the followers of Alexander brought the knowledge of it to Greece. The want of a fuller description will not permit us to define this timber scientifically, which is, possibly, the celebrated Indian teak-wood; but the passage quoted affords an important disclosure, not only because it proves, in general, the navigation of the Persian gulf, but also, as it brings within our comprehension the long voyages undertaken by vessels from Tylos, of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.

Gerrha and Tylos were, therefore, certainly principal marts of Babylonico-Phœnician commerce; yet there was another no less remarkable emporium for the commodities of the south, just in the entrance of the Persian gulf. Ormŭs, which was afterwards so celebrated, did not yet exist, and its place was occupied by cape Makae or Dsiulfar. Nearchus, who had only a passing view of this cape, as he sailed by, gives an interesting account of it[6]. His companions, who were acquainted with the country, told him that there was here a mart for cinnamon and similar merchandize, which was conveyed to the Assyrians, that is, to Babylon. They added, that the district around the cape was sterile and uninhabited. Here it is worthy of remark, that the above-mentioned city of Tur[7], in Oman, was very near cape Makae. Without building much

[6] ARRIAN. *Ind. Op.* p. 190.

[7] See above, p. 231.

upon the evidence of names, we may, however, believe, as we have historical accounts to confirm the idea, that this Tur was a Phœnician colony, and the staple for the spice trade mentioned by Nearchus.

An emporium like this, at the entrance of the gulf, naturally leads us to suppose a more distant navigation, and strengthens our idea of an ancient Indian trade from the Persian gulf.

Amongst the commodoties which Tyre received by the Persian gulf may be enumerated ivory, ebony, and cinnamon[8]. It is true, that the two first are no less natural to Ethiopia than India[9]; but it is contrary to all probability, that the natives of the eastern coast of Arabia should have imported them from Ethiopia, when India was so much nearer and more convenient for trade.

A more important and difficult question is that concerning the native country of cinnamon (cinnamomum), which was so much sought after, and so highly valued by the ancients[1].

The researches of modern naturalists have sufficiently proved, that at the present day cinnamon is found in the East Indies alone. Its principal country is Ceylon, from whence we obtain the best; yet it is not confined to Ceylon, but

[8] EZEK. xxxvii. 15.

[9] HEROD. iii. 114.

[1] Cinnamon is the bark of the Laurus Cinnamomum, a tree of moderate height and magnitude, and the Laurus Cassia (probably a variety of the other, producing however a coarser sort). See, concerning this spice, THUNBERG, *Anmerkungen über den Zimmet, auf Ceylon gemacht, in den Neuen Abhandlungen der Schwed. Akad.* (Observations on the cinnamon grown at Ceylon, in the new treatises of the Swedish academy.) vol. i. p. 53.

is also found on the coasts of the Deccan and in the East Indian islands; nowhere however in Africa or Arabia[2]. Some of the later Greek geographers, indeed, amongst whom Strabo may be reckoned, speak of cinnamon as a production of Arabia[3]; but as no one of them speaks as an eyewitness, it is more than probable that they were deceived by the circumstance of cinnamon being obtained through the medium of Arabia. We may add to the investigations of other writers[4] on this point, that the two oldest authors who have mentioned cinnamon, Jeremiah and Herodotus, express themselves in a manner tending to confirm our notion of its Indian origin. "To what purpose," it is said in Jeremiah[5], "cometh there to me incense from Sheba, and the sweet cane from a far country." If the prophet, with the later geographers, had considered Arabia Felix to be its native country, he would not have made this distinction. The same is clear from Herodotus. He had been told by the Phœnicians that cinnamon was brought through Arabia; but they would not, or could not, inform him where it was found, or what country produced it. All he could discover, was, that it came from the country in which Bacchus was educated[6]. The mystery thus thrown over this commerce, proves sufficiently that its former possessors were no

[2] THUNBERG, l. c.
[3] STRAB. p. 1124.
[4] BECKMANN. *ad Antig.* p. 86.
[5] JEREM. vi. 20.
[6] HEROD. iii. 111.

less anxious to conceal it from the rest of the world, than the Dutch have been in more modern times.

It was not however possible to keep it entirely secret; and the father of history has the glory of having first discovered traces of it, leading to the Indian peninsula and Ceylon.

Herodotus, in speaking of the native country of cinnamon, adds to his account a fabulous tradition. He had been told that a species of large birds brought the cinnamon, and carried it to their nests, from whence it was taken by a stratagem which he describes. This tradition of cinnamon birds prevailed throughout antiquity, and is found under a variety of modifications in several even of the most credible ancient writers[7]; for we cannot be surprised that they had every one their own version of the story. Nay, this very tradition which Herodotus related after the Phœnicians, more than two thousand years ago, was heard in Ceylon[8] itself, by a modern writer of the greatest fidelity, to whom we are indebted for our best information as to the manner of obtaining cinnamon. "The inhabitants of this island maintain," says Thunberg, "that good cinnamon must always grow wild. The propagation of the trees, however, takes place in the following manner. Magpies eat the berries when ripe, but do not digest the stones, which they sow here and there in the woods. On which ac-

[7] BECKMANN. *ad Antig. de Mirabil.*

[8] THUNBERG, l. c.

count these birds are preserved, no one being allowed to shoot them." The same has been related of pigeons[9]. Similar to this is the fact of the English having shot a pigeon at Tanna with a nutmeg in its beak.

Another valuable commodity was obtained from Ceylon in these distant ages, that is to say, pearls. Of this we can have no doubt, because we read of Indian pearl fisheries as well as those of the Persian gulf. Nearchus, when he mentions the latter of these, adds the following observation[1]: "Pearls are fished up here as well as in the Indian sea." Now it is generally known, that the most considerable pearl fishery is on the south-eastern coast of the peninsula, this side of the Ganges, between Ceylon and Cape Comorin. Hence a connexion between these countries and Babylon is sufficiently proved.

Lastly: the ancient name also of Ceylon, Taprobane, was known very early, and was even brought to Greece as a very remarkable one by the followers of Alexander; and the oldest traditions concerning it have exactly that obscurity which usually involves the most distant countries on the extremities of the known world[2]. Accordingly it was long undetermined, whether Taprobane was an island or a large continent, upon which the antipodes were to be sought.

[9] FORSTER, *Voyage Round the World*, ii. p. 332.

[1] ARRIAN. *Ind. Op.* p. 194. It is even said in another place, that according to the traditions of the Indians, Hercules had established this fishery. Would not this seem to imply the participation of the Phœnicians?

[2] See PLIN. vi. 22.

And even the discoveries made by the followers of Alexander appear to have afforded but little more light, as is manifest from Strabo, who drew his information from them. This is however very different in Ptolemy[3]. He has, it must be confessed, made false representations (probably borrowed from his predecessors) concerning the magnitude of the island; since he makes it extend from 12° 30′ N. L. to 3° S. L. But he is acquainted with its real figure and the direction in which it lies; its coasts, cities, rivers, and harbours; and even its ancient capital Maagrammum, in the situation of the present Candi. There was certainly a time in antiquity when Ceylon was quite as well known as it was under the dominion of the Dutch; and we may here repeat a question which has been started before, in regard to the interior of Arabia[4]: viz. whether this was not the age of the Phœnicians, and whether Ptolemy did not obtain his information from Tyrian sources. If we could assume this, how vast a commerce must there not have existed between the Phœnicians and Indians!

But without such a supposition, it is sufficiently made out, that the principal direction of the maritime Indian trade was to Ceylon and the neighbouring coast of Hindoostan. We now naturally ask, who they were by whom this commerce was carried on; whether the Indians sailed to the Persian gulf, or whether the inhabitants of the

[3] PTOLEM. vii. 4.

[4] See above, p. 113.

latter brought away the Indian commodities themselves. In my own opinion, the previous statements have sufficiently established the fact of the last of these having been the case, considering that the Chaldeans and Phœnicians had a joint participation in this trade. "The men of Dedan were thy merchants, and went to extensive countries who gave them in exchange for thy wares, horn, ivory, and ebony[5]." The identity of these countries with those of India would be rendered probable by their geography; but the Indian commodities which are mentioned turn this probability into certainty. This remarkable passage, however, informs us of the nature of this trade, as well as of its course. The men of Daden, viz. the inhabitants of the islands in the bay of Gerrha, sail to India with Phœnician wares, which they exchange for Indian; after this they bring the fruits of their traffic to their own country, and then form, on the neighbouring Arabian shores, near Gerrha, those caravans from Daden mentioned by Isaiah[6], which travelled through the Arabian desert to Babylon, or to the maritime cities of Phœnicia.

Putting together what has been said thus far, we shall have the following general results:

First. We can entertain no doubt of a considerable navigation on the Persian gulf, not, however, limited to that sea, but extending to large

[5] EZEKIEL xxvii. 15.
[6] ISAIAH xxi. 13.

and distant countries, before the age of the Persian empire.

Secondly. The principal places to which this navigation was directed were Ceylon and the western coasts of the Indian peninsula, on this side the Ganges. Here was situated, not far from the mouth of the Indus, the port Crocola, where Nearchus embarked. It is undoubtedly the modern Kurachi, which now carries on a considerable commerce, adjoining a city of thirteen thousand inhabitants[7]; and it is extremely probable that Barygaza likewise, (now Beroach,) though coming under our notice somewhat later, was in these early times a port of some consequence. The proximity of these countries would favour the voyage, which was still more facilitated by the periodical winds, which at regular intervals of half a year conducted ships thither, and brought them back.

Thirdly. This navigation was perhaps much less applied to by the Babylonians than by the Phœnicians, who had settlements on the eastern coast of Arabia, and in the neighbouring Bahrein islands, where they were supplied with timber for ship-building; it was also carried on by the Arabians, who became very early a navigating people, and conveyed the commodities which they had imported from India, to Babylon and the Phœnician commercial cities, from whence they were communicated to all parts of the world.

[7] POTTINGER, *Travels*, p. 333. 342.

Lastly. The objects of this trade were Arabian frankincense, Indian spices, especially cinnamon from Ceylon, ivory, ebony, precious stones, and Persian and Indian pearls. These are, at least, the wares mentioned by historians; yet we cannot doubt, from our want of a complete catalogue, that there are many articles omitted, which used to be offered to strangers who came to the several countries, and upon which they set a considerable value.

Under the Persian empire, however, the navigation of the Persian gulf had many difficulties to contend with. The Persians, who were not themselves a navigating people, had great apprehension of their provinces being suddenly attacked and laid waste by some foreign fleet or other[8]. When we consider the situation of their principal cities, this will appear anything but a groundless fear. Not only Babylon, but Susa, the metropolis of their empire, and the depôt for tribute collected from many nations, were both situated on large and navigable rivers, which afforded foreign fleets an easy access into the heart of their dominion; Babylon on the Euphrates, and Susa on the Choaspes, which is connected with the Tigris by a canal[9]. No great naval power, in the modern sense of the term, would be requisite for such an attempt, but only some squadrons of daring pirates, resembling the Normans of the middle ages, a de-

[8] STRAB. p. 1075.
[9] ARRIAN. vii. 7.

scription of people which has never been wanting in the Persian gulf. What could the Persians on the moment have opposed to such a fleet? Their principal cities would inevitably have been plundered and destroyed; nay, it is not going too far to suppose the utter abolition of their empire.

In order to prevent such a misfortune, they determined to make the entrance of the principal stream, viz. the Tigris, through which ships passed to the Choaspes, entirely inaccessible for navigation; and the expense and trouble which they bestowed upon accomplishing this design, clearly shews how much the danger of a foreign invasion had alarmed their fears. At certain distances one after the other they interrupted the course of the stream by masses of stone, which, as the waves passed over them, formed cascades more or less elevated. Alexander, who considered nothing of greater importance than the furtherance of trade and navigation, caused these obstructions to be removed, on his return from India[1]. But his premature death prevented the completion of this design, and one of these has probably remained to our time. "One day's journey below Mosul," says Tavernier[2], "our bark struck against a dam, across the Tigris from one side to the other. It is two hundred

[1] STRAB. l. c. If I dared to oppose evidence so definite as that of Strabo, I should conjecture, with great probability, that these dams were made to restrain the river, and to prevent an inundation.

[2] TAVERNIER i. p. 185.

feet broad, and forms a cascade twenty feet high; being constructed of large stones, which by the lapse of time are become as hard as a rock. The Arabians assert that Alexander the Great ordered it to be made, to conduct the stream; others maintain, that Darius endeavoured by this means to prevent Alexander from penetrating by the river into his dominions." The monument certainly deserves a more accurate investigation, were it only on account of ancient Persian architecture; for it is not at all probable that a dam should have been made so far up the river[3].

Here, then, we may seek for the reason of the great decline of the Persian gulf navigation in the time of Alexander. It was a result of the Persian policy; and hence it would be very hasty to decide, in conformity with this, as to the antecedent period, when the Babylonico-Chaldean power was at its height. A people who, like the Persians, are not themselves navigators, would be inclined to attach but little value to maritime trade in general. Moreover, the dams of which we have been speaking were no detriment to the navigation of the Euphrates; and although the maritime commerce of Babylon may have been much reduced under the Persian dominion, it certainly was not put a stop to altogether.

[3] They extended, however, as far as Opis, which, as an important commercial town, it was of great consequence to defend from any attack.

SCYTHIANS.

SCYTHIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical survey of the Scythian tribes.

GOMER AND ALL HIS BANDS; THE HOUSE OF TOGARMAH OF THE NORTH QUARTERS, AND ALL HIS BANDS: AND MANY PEOPLE WITH THEE.

EZEK. XXXVIII. 6.

THE aspect of central Asia, or the wild countries between the Taurus and Altai chain of mountains, have not, it must be confessed, the same attractions as the southern parts of this quarter of the globe. Those boundless plains, without wood or arable land, and covered only with pasture for cattle, present to the eye as little variety as the encampments of the wandering tribes who travel through them with their herds. But the great influence which these people have exercised on the fortunes of the human race would render it unpardonable to pass them over in silence, even if the period of the Persian empire did not supply us with more ample materials for the investigation than we might otherwise expect.

The name of Scythians is quite as vague in

ancient geography, as those of Tartars and Monguls are at present. We sometimes find the name applied to a particular people, and sometimes to all the nomad tribes who were settled throughout that immense tract of country extending from the north of the Black and Caspian seas, into the heart of Asia. The same uncertainty prevails in the use of a name for the country, the term Scythia being sometimes applied to the region inhabited by Scythians properly so called, and sometimes employed as an indefinite appellation for modern Mongolia and Tartary. We shall use the names Scythia and Scythians in this latter extended sense, a liberty which will be permitted in a general survey, although the Scythians may have already formed a distinct people, at the era to which our researches apply.

We cannot be surprised that nations who have never had any fixed place of abode, but have always led an unsettled life, should leave their country on the slightest occasion, and wander about from one to another. Moreover, these changes of habitation make it necessary to take one particular point of time when we are delineating such countries; for otherwise, it is evident from the nature of the case, the several parts of our sketch will not be in keeping with each other; perhaps they will even be at variance with truth. This necessity becomes much more urgent when we are taking a general survey of the nomad tribes of central Asia.

From the earliest times we have noticed periodical emigrations of these nations from east to west; their extensive country seems to have been, as it were, the magazine of our race. The farther back we go into the history of the first ages of the world, the more probable does it appear that the whole of western Europe received its population from thence; and it is a case of common notoriety, that these regions have been the focus of important revolutions at a more modern epoch. It would, therefore, be a great error to found our observations on Pomponius Mela, or Ptolemy, or to intermix the picture set before us by these geographers, with the more credible delineations of earlier writers[1]. Herodotus[2], then, a contemporary author, will be

[1] An investigation concerning the ancient northern tribes is, according to Ptolemy, one of the most difficult in history. This chaos was first reduced to something like order by Gatterer, in his inquiry into the origin of the Finni, Letti, and Slavi, in the *Commentat. Soc. Götting.* (Vol. XI. XII.) His first treatise particularly, *de Sarmatica Letticorum populorum origine*, belongs to our subject. Many illustrations on this point have been given in Mannert's Ancient Geography, and in Rennel's Geography of Herodotus.

[2] Herodotus did not confine his travels to Olbia, but saw also a part of the country of the Scythians, (iv. 81,) and obtained as much information about them, as he did relative to the Greeks of Pontus. It is certain that he examined these countries with great care, and faithfully related whatever he had seen and heard. I rely therefore implicitly on him for measures and distances. We have no means of deciding whether those he gives are correct or not, and risk much more in departing from, than we do in following him. The different accounts of Darius's Scythian expedition rested upon traditions which were collected here; and on this point I acknowledge with the excellent biographer of Herodotus, DAHLMANN, *Forschungen aus der Geschichte* (Historical Researches) II. p. 159, that these people have gone into much exaggeration on the subject, when they assert that Darius advanced as far as the Wolga, and raised some forts on that river. But we must not forget that the Persian army con-

our only guide, who has devoted the fourth book of his work to a description of the immense steppes which unite Europe to Asia. This great historian seems here to be perfectly familiar with his subject; he is acquainted with the rivers, the country, and the people; their manners and way of life no less than their parentage. The wilds of the Ukraine and Astracan are geographically described by him; and it is in his work that the ancestors of the Letti, Finns, Turks, Germans, and Calmucks first occupy a place in history; he has mentioned the Ural and Altai chain, though without a fixed appellation; and we even read of traditions concerning Siberia, which, though they at first appeared unworthy of credit, have been subsequently verified.

Herodotus begins his description with the European countries on this side of the Don or Tanais, or new Ukraine, and for the sake of method, it will be necessary to follow him in the same order. The division which he has adopted, is that formed by the rivers, and is indeed the best way of settling the boundaries of districts inhabited by wandering tribes who have no fixed residence. The principal rivers mentioned by the historian are undoubtedly correct; but two,

tained an abundance of light cavalry, which could, and must have advanced in all directions as the Scythians retired before them. To what distances do not the Cossacks at this day remove before the regular armies of the Russians? I would not, however, maintain that the vanguard of the Persian army advanced as far as the Wolga, or found upon the traditions a distinction which they do not make; but could only give the point of view in which we ought, in my opinion, to look upon the subject.

which flow across the steppes are uncertain, and he seems to have considered them larger than they are in reality[3].

Conformable to his exactness in fixing localities, is the distinction which he establishes between different tribes, enumerating eight of Scythians, properly so called; whoever were not included in these did not belong to the Scythian stock. The settlements which he assigns to the Scythians proper extend from the Danube to the Tanais, or Don[4], around which several other tribes had their residence. The Scythians, or Skolots, as they were called in their own language, had not always inhabited this tract of country, but were reported, by historical tradi-

[3] The principal of these rivers are, the Ister or Danube, the Tyras or Dniester, (still called Tyral, near its mouth,) the Hypamis or Bog, which unites with the Borysthenes or Dnieper, before it empties itself into the Black Sea. Between this last and the Tanais or Don, which flows into the sea of Azov, Herodotus has placed three secondary rivers, the Panticapes, the Hypakyris, and the Gerrus, of which the last is uncertain, and the two others are not to be found, at least according to his description. (See MANNERT, *Geography*, iv. p. 31. RENNEL, p. 57.) These uncertainties, however, only affect the line of demarcation of some Scythian tribes between the Dnieper and Don, and have nothing to do with other nations settled beyond the Don, and farther towards the north.

[4] The boundaries which Herodotus assigns to Syria are as follows: on the south, the coast of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis, (called by him Mæetis); on the east, the Persian gulf and the Don, or Tanais, to its rise out of the lake Ivan, which Herodotus was acquainted with; on the north, a line drawn from this lake to that out of which the Tyras (or Dniester) flows, that is, to the northern arm of the last lake in the circle of Sombrov in Galizia, towards the 49th degree of latitude; for Herodotus makes this lake the frontier between the Scythians and Neuri, whose settlements began about the 50th degree. HEROD. iv. 55. Lastly, the western boundary was a line from thence to the Danube. Thus the figure of Scythia is that of an irregular oblong, which Herodotus ascribes to it. (iv. 101, 102.)

tion preserved among themselves, to have come from the east. Being pressed by another people, the Massagetæ, they crossed the river Araxes, expelled the Cimmerians[5], and took possession of their settlements, which they still retained in the age of our historian. From time to time they made irruptions into the south of Asia; and in a great expedition undertaken by the whole nation against the remains of the Cimmerians, they even conquered the Medes about seventy years before Cyrus, kept the whole of Asia Minor in subjection to them for eight and twenty years, and extended their excursions to the borders of Egypt, whose king Psammetichus was obliged to buy them off[6].

I shall now make the reader acquainted with each of the tribes comprehended under the general name of Scythians. My plan will be to present them in the order of their relation to each other, and to fix their settlements by rivers; which, I flatter myself, will prevent our falling into any considerable mistakes. As long as we are confined to the shores of the Black Sea the subject will be clear and without difficulty: it is first involved in obscurity, and we

[5] HEROD. iv. 11, 12. I forbear to notice the other fabulous traditions concerning the Scythians. In this passage, we are, in my opinion, to understand the river Wolga for the Araxes. I have already remarked, that this name does not always mean the same river, in Herodotus, but is also applied to different streams on the eastern side of the Caspian sea; it was probably a general denomination for any river.

[6] HEROD. i. 103—106. This is the famous Scythian invasion, which Michaelis and Schlözer have shewn to be identified with that of the Chaldeans.

cannot be surprised, when it regards the remote countries of the north.

The northern coast of the Black Sea was occupied by Greek colonies, of which the most considerable was Olbia on the Borysthenes, whose name it sometimes bore. With respect to these, it has been already observed[7], that they had all one common origin from the city of Miletus. They were situated at the mouths of the large rivers; and beyond them the Greeks had formed many other settlements; viz. in the Crimea at Panticapæum, and on the farther shore of the sea of Azov, at the mouth of the river Tanais[8], where Milesian merchants had established themselves.

In their vicinity, the Tauri occupied the greatest part of the Crimea, to which they gave their own name. They figure in Greek mythology as a people of barbarous customs and manners, being even addicted to human sacrifices, which were practised among them in the days of Herodotus[9]. "They gain their livelihood," says this historian, "by war and plunder." Their origin is not known, but they were probably a

[7] See vol. i. p. 106 sq.

[8] A new light has been diffused over these cities, and principally over Olbia, by the controversies which have been lately entered into. See RAOUL ROCHETTE, *Antiquités Grecques de Bosphore Cimmerien*, Paris, 1822. PETER VON KOPPEN, *Alterthümer am Gestad des Pontus*, (Antiquities of the coast of Pontus,) Vienna, 1823, and VON KOLU, *Zwei Aufschriften von Olbia*, (two inscriptions from Olbia,) Petersburg, 1822. I shall make use of these different works in speaking of the Greek colonies. It would as yet be too soon, while we are engaged with the inland nations.

[9] HEROD. iv. 103.

remnant of the Cimmerians[1], whom the Scythians dispossessed of their settlements; for the most ferocious conquerors are seldom found to exterminate a people utterly; and as we find no further traces of them in their former country, our conjecture may be considered very probable, at least in the absence of any express testimony.

Next to these, the Scythian tribes first occur along both sides of the river Dnieper; and to the west, on the banks of this river, above the city of Olbia, the Callipidæ, a mixed people of Greeks and Scythians[2], who had fixed habitations, and applied to agriculture as well as their neighbours, the Alazones, whose ancient abodes must be sought where the Dnieper and Bog approach the nearest to each other. The tribes which were settled above these, comprehend under the general name of agricultural Scythians, followed the same way of life[3]. They cultivated the land, however, less for the sake of enjoying its produce themselves than on account of the trade which they carried on in corn.

These last, it is true, extended far towards the west, but the principal tribes were only settled on the eastern side of the Dnieper, between this river and the Don or Tanais. "Having crossed the Borysthenes," says Herodotus, "a woody region first presents itself, after which we

[1] GATTERER, l. c. p. 140.
[2] HEROD. iv. 17.
[3] HEROD. l. c.

come to the agricultural Scythians, whom the Greeks name Borysthenites, but they call themselves Olbiopolites."

It is uncertain whether there remain any traces of that woody region. Some old maps present the name of the Black Forest in the very same place; and this may have had a much wider extent in earlier times. From the communications of several travellers, however, it appears that there is no wood there now, although the fact of its having once existed, is preserved in the popular traditions of the country; nor does the woody country occur until we come to the banks of the river Don[4]. Modern travellers assert, that these districts which at the present day are occupied by colonies of Germans, Greeks, and others, afford a soil very favourable to the pursuit of agriculture. Rich meadow land, which can easily be converted into arable, is their general character; from the Don to the Danube, from Poland to the sea of Azov, the soil is deep and fruitful, and well adapted to every kind of produce[5].

According to Herodotus, the settlements of those agricultural Scythians extended three days' journey to the east from Olbia, as far as the river Pantikapes, which empties itself into the

[4] The forest commences near Tcherkask, on the banks of the Don, and extends to the Dnieper near Tchernigov, in 52° 30′ of north latitude, having the appearance of a long black line on the horizon; it is here succeeded by a steppe, which continues to the Black Sea, and presents a considerable number of monumental mounds.

[5] *New Russia*, by MISS HOLDERNESS, Lond. 1823.

Dnieper, and flows through the woody country to the north, eleven days' navigation up the Borysthenes. If we follow Gatterer in considering the Pantikapes to be the same as the Desna, we must make the woody country reach as far as Kiev; in this case, the country of the agricultural Scythians would begin at the confluence of the Desnâ and Dnieper, and extend northward to Mohilow on the Dnieper, 54° N. L[6]. But it is not easy to believe, that the Pantikapes is the same river as the Desna; as we are not authorized by the expression of Herodotus to suppose that the woody country extended so far north; and the distance between the Dnieper and the Desna is not equal to three days' journey. I would therefore take the Pantikapes for one of the more southern rivers which fall into the Dnieper, either the Sula or the Psol. Under this view, the limit of the country inhabited by the agricultural Scythians, will be fixed near Kiev, 51° N. L. The importance of settling the locality of these tribes will be readily acknow-

[6] M. v. KOPPEN, l. c. p. 12, note 2, thinks I am mistaken in making the Scythia of Herodotus extend so far north as Mohilow; he adds, that it was terminated by the southern *tumuli* in the government of Kursk, where, owing to peculiar circumstances, we discover quite a different race of men, inasmuch as the southern and northern Russians differ from each other, both in language and in manners. It is, however, doubtful whether these *tumuli* should be considered to decide the question; at the same time it seemed reasonable to fix the limit at Mohilow, on account of our uncertainty respecting the course of the Pantikapes, as well as the mention of eleven days' navigation on the Dnieper. If, as I think, the river Psol is the ancient Pantikapes, the opinion of M. Köppen with respect to the north-western limit of Scythia, coincides with mine: but I hold, from the express declaration of Herodotus, that its north-eastern frontier extended as far as 54 or 55° N. L.

ledged; but we shall pursue the investigation no farther, as it is amply sufficient for all the purposes of a general survey, to know that the district in question lies between the Don and the Dnieper, and that the agricultural Scythians occupied the western part of it. On the other side of the Pantikapes, we enter upon the country of the nomad Scythians, who neither plough nor sow. It is a steppe destitute of wood, and comprehending a space of fourteen days' journey in an eastern direction as far as the river Gerrus, and the region which bears the same name, where are the tombs of the Scythian kings[8]. Beyond this river the ruling horde of the Scythians, who were named royal, first appear; their country is bounded on the south by the lake Mæotis and the city Cremni, and on the east by the river Don, which here terminates the whole of Scythia.

Herodotus speaks of some other nations on this side of the river Don, who bordered on the Scythians to the west and north, but were not of a similar extraction with them. These, with the addition of the Tauri and Greeks, whom I mentioned before, as being settled on the south of Scythia, were the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Anthropophagi, and the Melanchlæni. Among these, the Agathyrsi were farthest towards the

[8] HEROD. iv. 19. The region of Gerrus must have been at a considerable distance up the Dnieper, as we are told that forty days' navigation on that river were required before they came to it, (iv. 52.) But we cannot form any estimation of these days' navigation against the stream. We are acquainted with no vestige of the tombs of the Scythian kings.

west; they lived, according to the express words of our historian, on the Maris[9], (Marosch,) which falls into the Danube, and occupies a part of Transylvania and Temeswarian Banat. They were a very rich people, having an abundance of gold, probably obtained from the Carpathian mountains, which they employed for the fabrication of their utensils. We are not to suppose that they were at the trouble of working gold mines, as the metal was probably found in the sand washed down by their rivers. In the centre of the region which now comprises Poland and Lithuania, Herodotus places the Neuri[1], bounded on one side by the Carpathian mountains, and the lake out of which the Dniester rises[2]; and on the other, by the Dnieper. They had been once obliged to leave their country, on account of a quantity of serpents, with which it was infested, and had taken refuge with the Budini on the eastern side of the Don; but they afterwards returned[3].

[9] HEROD. iv. 48. 100. 104. This helps to determine the settlements of the other tribes. It is surprising how well Herodotus was acquainted with the inferior rivers which flow into the lower Danube, (i. 48, 49.) For this accurate information he must have been indebted to intimate commercial relations between the Greeks of Pontus and the inhabitants of the Carpathian mountains.

[1] HEROD. iv. 17.

[2] HEROD. iv. 51. This author was acquainted with the entire course of all the rivers from the Danube to the Don, the Dnieper alone excepted, respecting which he avows his ignorance, iv. 53.

[3] So Gatterer explains the passage, HEROD. iv. 105, translating ἐς ὃ πιεζόμενοι, "so long as they were molested," which was formerly rendered by "while they were thus molested:" this does away with all apparent contradictions in Herodotus to the passage in iv. 21, as well as puts an end to

Scythia was bounded on the west by the country of these two nations; and on the north, by that of the Anthropophagi, (cannibals,) and Melanchlæni, (black clothed,) from whom it was, however, separated by a desert[4]. The former of these were settled in the modern government of Smolensk, and the latter in the vicinity of Moscow; and their names were not the peculiar appellation of the tribes to which they belonged; but rather were derived from their customs and dress. Herodotus says expressly, that they were not of Scythian extraction; and we learn at a later period that their true name was Bastarnæ[5]. These were a branch from the German stock, which probably first occupied the Scythian country, and were expelled from it by the inroads of other wandering tribes. Thus Herodotus is the first author who has made us acquainted with the ancestors of the modern Germans, such as they were in these remote ages, when they clothed themselves with the skins of animals and fed on human flesh.

The Tanais or Don formed the eastern boun-

all discussion relative to the country of the Neuri and Budini. (See the commentators on Herodotus and Mannert.) Schweighæuser ad h. l. translates ἐς ὅ, *ad extremum*, because Herodotus never uses these words in the sense of *quamdiu*. He adds, however, that the Neuri returned to their country when it was no longer infested by the serpents. Whatever interpretation may be adopted, it will not affect the limits which have been assigned to the Neuri, HEROD. iv. 51.

[4] HEROD. iv. 18. 20.

[5] GATTERER, l. c. p. 148. From a comparison of Herodotus with Strabo. It is plain that the appellations of Anthropophagi and Melanchlæni were derived from the Greeks.

dary of Scythia. On the other side of this river we meet with a new race, that is to say, the Sarmatians[6], whose name is no less celebrated than that of the Scythians. "On crossing the Tanais we come to no more Scythians, but enter into a country inhabited by the Sarmatians, who extend to a distance of five days' journey towards the north from the Palus Mæotis. The district which they possess is equally destitute of wild and of cultivated trees." It is clear from this passage of the historian, that they occupied the steppe, which is now appropriated to the Cossacks of the Don; and perhaps a part of that of Astracan besides. As fifteen days' journey are equivalent to about seventy-five German miles (about three hundred English,) their country must have extended to the 48th degree of north latitude, or to the point where the Don and the Wolga approach the nearest to each other. The language, however, of the Sarmatians was a dialect of the Scythian; and according to the fabulous tradition, their nation owed its origin to an intermixture of the Scythians with the Amazons.

Another very remarkable people were settled above the Sarmatians, viz. the Budini[7]. "They inhabited a country full of thick woods. They were very numerous and had blue eyes and red hair. In their country there was a city, whose walls, houses, and temples were of wood; and

[6] HEROD. iv. 21. He calls them Σαυρομάται.

[7] HEROD. iv. 108.

each of its sides were thirty stades (about three miles) long. The inhabitants of the city, however, the Geloni, were originally Greeks who had retired thither from the commercial towns; and they spoke a mixed dialect of Greek and Scythian. The Budini, on the contrary, had a language and way of life peculiar to themselves; they were nomads, and lived by hunting, while the Geloni cultivated the soil, and supported themselves by its produce. They likewise differed from each other in complexion. It is true that the Greeks used to apply the name of Geloni to the Budini; but it is very incorrect to confound these two nations."

According to this, the settlements of the Budini began where those of the Sarmatian steppe ended, viz. in the government of Saratov; but Herodotus does not inform us how far they extended to the north or east; his calling them, however, a great and powerful nation is sufficient to convince us that their territory must have been considerable. If we admit that it was equal in extent to that of the Sarmatians, it will have comprised the present governments of Pensa, Simbirsk, Kasan, with a part of that of Perm, and terminate in the vicinity of the southern branch of the Ural mountains. We know that at this day these provinces abound in woods of oak, the magazines for Russian naval architecture; which perfectly agrees with the account of Herodotus, that the Budini inhabited thick forests; as they were not then so enlightened as at

present. We cannot now discover the lake mentioned by Herodotus; but it is to be observed that he describes it as a morass, and we shall remark hereafter that the same place where we should expect to find it, is occupied by marshy grounds, which at certain periods turn the land into a vast lake; and this will also afford me an opportunity to express my opinion respecting the colonies of Greeks which were established here, and their motives for forming such settlements.

Beyond the Budini[5] on the north, there is a desert, seven days' journey in length. Having crossed this, and turned eastward, we come to the Thyssagetæ, a large and independent nation, who live by hunting. In the same country, and adjoining them, we come to another people, the Iurcæ, who follow the same way of life. They climb trees, where they watch for the deer; and hunt with horses and dogs; their horses are taught to lie down on their belly in order to appear smaller. To the east of these are to be found a colony of emigrants from Scythia, (Scythæ exules,) who came from the country of the royal Scythians."

Thus we fix the northern boundary of the Budini, in 54° N. L., and adding to the account the desert of seven days' journey, or five and thirty miles, (about one hundred and forty English measure,) we shall come to the government of Wiatka, towards the 56th degree of latitude. Here we must turn towards the east, in order to

[5] Herod. iv. 22.

arrive in the country of the Thyssagetæ, and Iurcæ; and this can be no other than the government of Perm, near the Ural mountains. Herodotus assures us that the Thyssagetæ were very numerous; whence we are authorized to suppose that they would occupy the whole of the government of Perm, and even extend beyond it on the north. With respect to the Iurcæ, who, as it has been remarked, inhabited the same country, it would appear, forming our calculation from the order adopted by Herodotus, that they occupied the eastern part, that they reached nearly to the Ural chain, and were even to be found in the interior of these mountains. In the succeeding chapter we shall return to the Iurcæ, and endeavour to throw some light upon them, as well as upon the Scythian emigrants.

Herodotus continues thus[7]: "Leaving the habitations of these Scythians, the country, which was before plain and open, now becomes unequal and mountainous." Taking this passage as our guide, we shall seek for the ancient abodes of these tribes on the western side of the Ural chain; but as they are said to have extended to the foot of these mountains, and even into their interior, we shall conclude that they touched upon the frontiers of Siberia[8].

Hence we can have no difficulty in deciding

[7] HEROD. iv. 23.

[8] GATTERER, l. c. p. 128, derives the name of Iurcæ from the river Irgis, which flows on the eastern side of the Ural chain, and empties itself into the lake Acsacal.

the stony and mountainous country which follows, to be the Ural chain, reaching from the northern side of the Caspian to the icy sea.

"Having[9] proceeded a considerable way through this stony region, we come to a people named Argippæi, settled at the foot of high mountains. The women as well as the men of this nation are bald from their youth; they have flat noses and large jaw bones; their costume is Scythian; but their language peculiar to themselves." From the physical account of this people, with which our author has furnished us, we can have no hesitation in identifying them with the Calmucks, a principal branch of the Monguls. "Their diet," says Herodotus, "partly consits in the fruit of a tree named Ponticum, about the size of a fig tree. The fruit which it produces resembles a bean in the pod. When this is ripe, they put it in bags for filtration, and a thick black juice issues out, which is called Aschy; this becomes a part of their food, either by itself, or mixed with milk. The mass of the fruit remaining after this process is formed into cakes, which are baked and eaten by them. They have few sheep, as their pastures are but indifferent." The fruit in question is probably the bird's cherry, (Pennus Padus, Linn.,) which at this day the Calmucks eat in almost the same manner; they dress the berries with milk, then press them in a sieve, and afterwards form them into a thick mass, which is called *moisun chat;*

[9] HEROD. l. c.

a small piece of which, mixed with water, makes a nutritious and palatable soup[1]. This people made their tents as at present, of black felt, but they were not yet acquainted with the method of supporting them artificially like the moderns[2]. They each of them hung their canvass on a tree[3] for their winter abode; in summer, when they lived in the open air, it was folded up. The horde of which Herodotus speaks does not appear to have been one of the most wealthy; we collect however from him, that they roved about in the same country which is inhabited by the modern Calmucks.

"We are now arrived," continues Herodotus, "into the most distant country which we can become acquainted with, as this terminates the journeys undertaken by the Scythian and Greek caravans from the commercial cities of Pontus. No one can give any account of that region which is beyond the Argippæi, because this people are separated from the remote districts in question by inaccessible mountains, which have never been passed. The Argippæi, it is true, assert that men are to be found there with goats' feet, and that at a great distance, the country is inhabited by men who sleep six months

[1] NEUNICH, *Polyglot Dictionary of Natural History*, s. v. *Prunus Padus* L. According to Wassili Michailow, (Riga, 1804,) an intoxicating beverage is made from this fruit.

[2] PALLAS, l. c. i. p. 111.

[3] This must be a misunderstanding which has arisen from the supporters of their tents being of the shape of trees, which were not to be found in the desert.

in the year. But these stories are fabulous, and quite unworthy of credit."

The inaccessible mountains which terminate the region possessed by the Argippæi, are evidently the Altai chain, bounding southern Siberia, which in this passage first occurs in history, though without a name, like the Ural mountains. The tradition concerning men who had goats' feet is one of those stories which are so often indulged in with regard to distant countries, and particularly Siberia. In the other tradition of men who sleep six months in the year, we can perceive a ray of truth, inasmuch as we know that the polar regions continue for six months, more or less, without having the light of the sun; their darkness being only relieved by the moon and the aurora borealis. This was unknown to the ancients, and their ignorance of it justifies the caution of Herodotus.

"The country to the east of the Argippæi," continues the historian[4], we know to be inhabited by the Issedones. These people have a custom, when any one loses his father, for the relations to kill a certain number of sheep, whose flesh they hash up together with that of the dead person, and feast upon it[5]. But the dead man's skull is

[4] HEROD. iv. 25.

[5] Incredible as this custom may appear, it nevertheless exists amongst the Battas of Sumatra. The inhabitants of that land related to Dr. Leyden that they frequently eat their nearest relations when they are become old and infirm; and this less to gratify their appetite, than in obedience to a precept of religion. When a man gets old and perceives his strength fail him, he himself engages his relations to eat him, at the season when salt is the cheapest. He then ascends a tree, and his children, with his

cleansed and gilded, and becomes a sort of idol, to which they offer sacrifices every year. In other respects they are said to be a civilized nation, and women amongst them are eligible to the sovereignty as well as men."

Although the Greek writer has not given us any positive account of the country of this nomad people, it is not difficult to determine the point. They began in the interior of great Mongolia, the present residence of the Sungares, and were terminated by ancient Serica, whose inhabitants appear to have been derived from them[6]. The Greeks were acquainted with the name of this people long before the time of Herodotus, from an epic poem, attributed to Aristeus of Proconnesus[7].

"To the north of the Issedones[8] we find, according to this people themselves, men with only one eye, called in the Scythian language Arimaspi, and griffins, who watch over the gold. The

nearest kinsmen, dispose themselves around it; they shake the tree, singing these words: "The fruit is ripe, and must be shaken down." After which, the old man descends from the tree, and is killed and eaten by his relations at a solemn repast. In other respects, the Battas as well as the Issedones are described as a civilized people. LEYDEN in *Asiat. Research.* ix. p. 202. It is remarkable that Herodotus has the same story concerning an Indian people named Padæi, iii. 99.

[6] Ptolemy places the Issedones in Serica.

[7] This poem, entitled Ἀριμάσπεα, contained the most ancient traditions concerning the east and north of the ancient world. The poet pretended to have travelled into the country of the Issedones, and related a multitude of fables respecting them. (HEROD. iv. 13—15.) He lived about two hundred years before Herodotus; and we see by that historian's account of the poet, to what high antiquity the commerce of the Greek colonies of the Pontus Euxinus with eastern Asia must be referred.

[8] HEROD. iv. 27.

Scythians] learned this circumstance from the Issedones, and we ourselves from the Scythians."

We have already spoken of the fabulous country of the griffins, and have proved that it was situated more to the south of the mountains bordering on little Bucharia. But, since the gold mountains of eastern Asia extend as much to the north as to the south, it is probable that the tradition prevailed in both these directions; moreover, this fabulous story of the Arimaspi, and the griffins who watched over the gold, tends to confirm the opinion which we have given in the introduction, that the gold mines of southern Asia were known from the most remote antiquity.

We shall now follow our historian along the eastern side of the Caspian sea, and the lake Aral, where his geographical knowledge will excite our admiration quite as much as it did in the north. No subsequent ancient writer, nor even any modern geographer, has collected equally exact accounts of these regions. The greatest part of the tribes were settled in great Bucharia; yet any attempt to fix the residence of each of them would be fruitless, as that must have changed frequently in the vicissitudes of their wandering life; but there will not be much danger of confounding them with each other, because we know them already from the list of nations tributary to Darius, and have seen them exhibited with their arms and accoutrements in the immense army of Xerxes.

The vast plains of great Bucharia, or Tartary, to the east of the Caspian sea, have been at all times the favourite abode of nomad tribes. Some have been attracted to these seats of commerce, the staples for southern Asiatic productions, by their wants; while the commodities in which they abounded have afforded others an inducement to piracy. On the whole, the nations in question do not appear to have been ever more numerous than they were in the age of the Persian empire, in the service of which they were for the most part engaged[8].

The tribes of the Caspii, Pausicæ, Pantimathi, and Daritæ, wandered along the shores of the Caspian sea, between it and the lake Aral. The Caspii figure in the army of Xerxes with costumes of fur, their arms being sabres, and bows made of a sort of reed.

The other nations which we have just named did not appear in the army of Xerxes, but were included in the tributaries of Persia, as may be seen by the catalogue made under Darius, where they are placed by the side of the Caspii. The name of the last has undergone no alteration; at a later period, however, they are found on the west and north of the Caspian sea.

To the south of these tribes, in the vast plains of Khiva, the habitations of the Chorasmii and Thamanæi were dispersed. The name of Cho-

[8] FROEMMICHEN, *Asiæ Herodoteæ difficiliora*, with the notes of Gatterer; this treatise gained a prize from the academy of Göttingen in the year 1794.

rasmii constantly appears in history. According to Herodotus they were settled on the Aces, that is to say, the Oxus[9], and in the army of Xerxes had the Median arms with the Bactrian costume. The Thamanæi lived on the banks of the same river, and are only found in the list of tributaries[1]. Their neighbours were the Mycians[2] and Utii, who are probably identical with the modern Uzes, known as the ancestors of the Turks. These two nations were principally clothed with fur cloaks, and applied to agriculture like the Chorasmii, though at a later epoch they are enumerated amongst nomad tribes.

To the north of these last, on the lower Jaxartes, lived the Paricanii and Orthocorybantii. The Paricanii[3] were clothed with fur like the preceding, and armed with bows made in their own country. We have already seen in Herodotus another people bearing this name, and cited in the list of tributaries with the Asiatic Ethiopians[4], which will authorize a conjecture that they extended much farther to the south than the people of whom we are speaking here. With regard to the Orthocorybantii, they do not appear in the expedition of Xerxes, being only mentioned in the catalogue of satrapies[5].

[9] It has been frequently asserted, that the Aces is the Ochus of the moderns, but the opinion of Gatterer, who takes it for the Oxus, appears to me the most probable. GATTERER, l. c. p. 17, in the notes.

[1] HEROD. iii. 93.

[2] HEROD. iii. 93. vii. 68.

[3] HEROD. vii. 68, iii. 92.

[4] HEROD. iii. 94.

[5] HEROD. iii. 92.

In the interior of great Bucharia, and on the east, these are succeeded by the Gandarii, Aparytæ, Dadicæ, and Sattagydæ. The Gandarii and Dadicæ imitated the Bactrians[6] in their method of arming themselves; the two other people were included in the list of tributaries, though not in the army of Xerxes[7].

Such are the ancient nomad tribes which Herodotus was acquainted with, and has faithfully described. After his time the greater number of them do not appear any longer in history, though some, as the Caspii and Utii, are found more recently in other districts to the west of the Caspian sea; and by this remarkable change of situation, confirm the observation already made, that these nomad hordes have moved from east to west. If we reflect, however, on the uninterrupted expeditions of the powerful nomad nations of great Tartary, there will be no room to doubt that the hordes mentioned in Herodotus were detached branches of them. These hordes, whose country was beyond the borders of the Persian empire, that is, on the other side of the Jaxartes, were confounded by the Persians under the general name of Sacæ, an appellation as indefinite perhaps with them, as that of Scythians with the Greeks, or that of Tartars with us. "The people named Scythians by the Greeks," says Herodotus[8], "are called Sacæ by the Per-

[6] HEROD. vii. 66.
[7] HEROD. iii. 91.
[8] HEROD. vii. 64.

sians." We may add that these tribes followed the Persians in all their expeditions, in the capacity of mercenaries, and formed the greater part of the armies of the great king.

Besides this general information, Herodotus has given a detailed account, equally instructive and interesting, of a nation beyond the Jaxartes, bearing the name of Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus undertook the expedition which occasioned his death[9]. "Some assert," says the historian, "that they are a warlike nation established on the eastern side of the river Araxes, and near the Issedones; others, that they inhabited an immense plain to the east of the Caspian sea, and were related to the Scythians. The Massagetæ do, in fact, resemble the Scythians in their costume and manner of life. They fight on foot as well as on horseback, being equally skilled in both. They make use of bows and lances, and are accustomed to the battle-axe. Their lances and clubs are of brass; their helmets and girdles ornamented with gold. The harness of their horses is of brass; though the bit is gold as well as the ornaments of the bridle. They are not acquainted either with iron or silver, their country being entirely destitute of these metals, while it affords gold and brass in abundance."

The exactness of the geographical data here furnished us, renders it impossible to mistake the situation of this people. The Araxes can be no other than the Jaxartes, as we are referred to a

[9] HEROD. i. 201. 204. 215. 216.

large river on the east of the Caspian sea. It is true, that this designation would equally apply to the Oxus; but the name of Araxes cannot be given to the latter, because Herodotus calls it the Aces, and because it flows in Bucharia; for the Massagetæ were not inhabitants of this country, but rather were fixed more to the east or to the north, and near the Issedones. To which it may be added, that they were not tributaries of the Persians, or mercenary soldiers in their armies, like all the other nations of great Bucharia; that the gold and brass with which their country abounded were not found in great Bucharia, but in the Altai mountains; and that the immense plain to the east of the Caspian sea is that steppe land, which at this day includes Sungaria and Mongolia, touches on the frontier of Eygur, and extends to the Altaic chain.

It appears, then, that the Massagetæ were neighbours of the Issedones, and that these two nations had a common origin, being both, as well as the Argippæi, of Mongol extraction. With these, our historian concludes his survey, his geographical knowledge not extending beyond their country; for he does not seem to have been acquainted with the name of Seres, who have since become so famous in the west; and yet they were, as we have already proved, a branch of the Issedones. We may supply his place by the Chinese annalists, who take up the thread of narration where he quitted it; but here we shall only remark, from what they re-

late[1] of the Hiongnu (according to all appearance, the ancestors of the Huns), that this people, to the east, bordered on the Issedones and Massagetæ, of whom they probably formed a part; and we do not intend to pursue our inquiries so far as to touch upon nations, which, being extremely remote from all parts of the world known to the ancients, cannot furnish us with facts of much importance to the present investigation into the commerce and manufactures of antiquity.

[1] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii. p. 13, etc.

CHAPTER II.

Commerce and intercourse of the nations of Central Asia.

"JAVAN, TUBAL, AND MESECH, THEY WERE THY MERCHANTS: THEY TRADED THE PERSONS OF MEN, AND VESSELS OF BRASS IN THY MARKET. THEY OF THE HOUSE OF TOGARMAH TRADED IN THY FAIRS WITH HORSES AND HORSEMEN AND MULES."

EZEKIEL xxvii. 13, 14.

IF it be true, as our preceding pages evince, that the interior of Asia was better known in the times of the Persian empire than it is now, the knowledge of this fact ought to make us entertain a very high idea of the relations of every kind which in these remote ages existed between the different nations of Asia; it ought to enlarge the picture which we have undertaken to portray of ancient commerce, and enrich it with an additional group in the back ground, which will be more attractive from the contrast which it forms with the rest.

In this task we are not reduced to content ourselves with simple conjectures. History has fortunately preserved a sufficient number of posi-

tive accounts to enable us to attain to correctness in our general view of the subject, though some of its details may be liable to exception.

The Greek cities on the coasts of the Black Sea infused life and activity into the tribes of the north; their bold and enterprising genius opened to them a connexion with the most remote countries of the east; and perhaps they even introduced into their own country the commodities of India, conveying them over the immense steppes of Asia.

We have remarked already, that all these cities were colonies from Miletus; Olbia, situated at the mouth of the Borysthenes, on the site of the modern Cherson, being the most considerable. The second rank was distinguished by Panticapæum, in the Tauric peninsula; Phanagoria and Tanais, at the extremity of the sea of Azov; Dioscurias, near the mouth of the Phasis; and lastly, Heraclea, Sinope, and Amisus on the shores of Asia Minor, which were washed by the Pontus Euxinus. These cities, the greater part of which were founded seven hundred years before the Christian era, and consequently existed before the Persian dominion, appropriated to themselves the navigation and commerce of the Black Sea; they saw in profusion in their own markets, the productions of all the countries bordering on this sea, which found here a sale as advantageous as it was prompt; and their industry increasing with their wealth, they at length monopolized all the pro-

ductions of the north and east. We shall now proceed to trace their commerce through its different branches.

All the cities in question, and especially Dioscurias, Panticapæum and Phanagoria, had formerly the most considerable and famous slave markets. The countries situated on the north and east of the Black Sea were inexhaustible magazines for this shameful and inhuman traffic: hence the name of Scythian was frequently used as synonymous with the word slave.

In the continual wars which the nations of mount Caucasus waged against each other, all the prisoners were sold as slaves; for slavery was generally prevalent amongst the Scythians, as amongst other nomad tribes[1]; and the slave markets of Panticapæum and Dioscurias were, even in the time of Strabo, a great attraction to these barbarous nations[2].

But a much more advantageous commerce for them was that which consisted in corn. We have already seen in our quotations from Herodotus, that several Scythian tribes had attained to the knowledge of agriculture, and that the Ukrain, amongst others, on the two banks of the Dnieper, produced a considerable quantity of corn. The cultivated part of this district reached to the modern government of Kiew. We have

[1] HEROD. iv. 2, 3.

[2] STRAB. p. 757. 761. According to the testimony of this author, there were more than seventy tribes collected together in the great markets of Panticapæum.

likewise remarked in the same historian that the inhabitants cultivated the soil not for the purpose of consuming its productions themselves, but to find their account in it by the profits of commerce[3]. Thus the Ukrain was, in the Persian era, as it still is in our time, very productive in corn, and the city of Olbia served as an emporium for this branch of traffic. The same city maintained especially an intercourse[4] with Athens, whose territory did not produce enough of this necessary commodity to supply the wants of its inhabitants.

The commerce which was carried on with fur put it in the power of the Greeks to penetrate still deeper into the heart of this country. We have already observed in another place that this commerce could not have been so considerable in ancient times as it has become recently; but it was not of less importance. The climate of the regions bordering on the Black Sea, as that of many others on the same degrees of latitude, was more inclement than at present; and warm garments were more necessary[5]. Accordingly the use of furs was nearly general among the nations of Thrace, and all the Asiatic tribes settled in countries above the 40th degree of north latitude. The Thracians wore caps of fox skin and

[3] HEROD. iv. 17.

[4] DEMOSTH. *in Lept.* p. 254. ed. WOLF.

[5] This inclemency of the climate is a fact of which we may assure ourselves from Herodotus (iv. 28), if we are inclined to consider the complaints of Ovid exaggerated.

boots of fur[6]; the Scythians and Melanchlæni used cloaks of the same material. Similar habiliments were common to other people on the east of the Caspian sea; and we shall shew afterwards that fine furs were of equal estimation in southern Asia.

But the adventurous and enterprising spirit of the Greeks on the shores of the Euxine Sea did not confine itself to this commerce with the nations of the north; they penetrated into the east, and made way for themselves even into great Mongolia. Herodotus is still our authority on this subject.

"As far as the Argippæi[7], (the modern Calmucks,) the country is very well known; and also that of the other nations whom we have mentioned before. For it is often visited, either by the Scythians, who readily communicate what they have learned respecting it, or by the Greeks of Olbia and its neighbourhood. The Scythians who go into these districts usually carry on their affairs in seven different languages, by the assistance of the same number of interpreters."

This remarkable passage of our historian evidently describes a commerce by caravans, which, having crossed the Ural mountains, travelled northward round the Caspian sea, and thence advanced into the interior of great Mongolia. This commerce was jointly carried on by the Greeks of Pontus and by Scythians; and when

[6] HEROD. vii. 75.
[7] HEROD. iv. 24.

we once know its route, it will be easy to explain its organization; as the Scythians were accustomed to travel with immense herds, and were possessed of many beasts of burden, they were probably the best conductors of merchandize; and we must therefore conclude, that they in a great measure formed the caravans which travelled into eastern Asia.

Hence we can entertain no doubt as to the place of setting out, or the termination of their journey. It began at Olbia, near the mouth of the river Borysthenes, and ended beyond the Ural mountains, in the country of the Argippæi, (the Calmucks.) This people belonged to the great Mongolian family, and formed the most western branch of it. Their tents being made of felt proves in some degree their relation with the Monguls or Calmucks; while the Scythians, by living, according to Herodotus, on their waggons[8], shewed their Tartar origin. All we know of the country of the Argippæi is, that we must seek them in the western part of great Mongolia, and probably in the present canton of the Kirghis[9]: we must not however conclude from this that the region was of moderate extent; for it might have reached to the Jaxartes on the south, that is, to the confines of the tribes of great Tartary and Mongolia; and on the east, to the territory of the Issedones. Our acquaintance with their

[8] HEROD. iv. 46.

[9] The Kirghis emigrated very late from Siberia to their present country.

neighbours on two sides seems very important, as it tends to prove that the commerce of the Greeks with the Argippæi could open to them a communication with the different countries situated on the east and north of Asia.

We shall now examine the routes of this commerce.

The latter part of the route which crossed the steppes beyond the Ural mountains, was the same as that at present traversed by caravans from Orenburg towards Bokhara, or Khiva, or from these latter cities to Orenburg. The commercial expeditions of the Russians, particularly that in the year 1820, have thrown considerable light on these countries and their roads; and we have obliged the reader with the information which has been communicated to us in writing[1].

According to these accounts, there is no high road between Orenburg and Bokhara. From Orenburg to the Sir-Darja we find no beaten way; we only meet occasionally some paths made by camels.

The Russian caravan, which, as it was accompanied by a strong escort, could without danger take the most frequented road, doubled the north-eastern extremity of the lake Aral[2]; passed the two arms of the Sir-Darja, on the north and

[1] Vol. i. p. 347, (note [2].)

[2] It went to Bokhara, and not to Khiva; if the latter city had been its destination, the road between the Caspian sea and the lake of Aral would have been the shortest.

south, and then proceeded along the desert of Kisil-Koum, in northern Bucharia. But for several reasons, caravans are not always able to travel on the same road: sometimes on account of the insecurity occasioned by the predatory hordes, which are roving about; at others they are prevented by the want of forage and water for camels, which it is not safe to pasture anywhere, except on the territory of friendly hordes. The Khivans have four routes of communication with Russia. The first passes between the lake of Aral and the Caspian sea across the steppe of the Kirghis. This is safe only in times of peace, and when an intelligence is maintained with these tribes, which has been difficult for some years. The second road is by way of Saruchek, along the frontiers of Russia, and ends likewise at Orenburg. By this circuitous route the Khivans seek to avoid the insults of the Kirguis. The third road goes from Saruchek to Astracan, from whence merchandise is transported to new Novgorod by the Wolga. The fourth road sets out from Khiva and leads to Karagan[3], and from thence by the Caspian sea, to Astracan. Of these four roads the second and third are most frequented.

We shall shew how far these data will apply to Scythian commerce, after having explored the commercial route of the cities on the Black Sea

[3] Karagan is the most westerly cape of the eastern shore of the Caspian sea, towards the 44th degree of north latitude, and at the shortest distance from Astracan.

from the shores of that sea to the Uralian mountains.

Although Herodotus has not accurately determined this road, it is not difficult to trace it from the indications he has left. According to him, the commercial Scythians and Greeks were obliged to traverse countries inhabited by seven different tribes, and speaking seven different dialects, and consequently under the necessity of employing the assistance of seven interpreters, in order to make themselves understood. These cannot be the same which Herodotus himself has mentioned[4]: the Tauri, the Sarmatians, the Budini, the Geloni, the Thyssagetæ, the Jurcæ, and the Argippæi[5].

Thus if, with Herodotus, we consider Olbia to have been the emporium in whose neighbourhood the caravans assembled, their route must have passed along the Hylæan or wood country, and have coasted the sea of Azov, as far as the mouth of the Tanais. It was here that the Tauri[6] inhabited, whose settlements extend far beyond the peninsula to which they have given

[4] This is proved incontestably by the context.

[5] I pass over in silence the Scythian exiles or emigrants; in their intercourse with whom the caravans had no need of interpreters, as they still preserved their own language. If, however, we were desirous to substitute them in this passage, for the Tauri, there could be no reason to oppose this disposition. Herodotus does not fix their settlements positively; he only says that they were formerly established on the east of the Jurcæ, without explaining the cause of their emigration. It would seem that this was a voluntary emigration, (as we should understand by the expression ἀποστάντες,) and that the object of this people in changing their country was to be fixed on the great commercial road.

[6] HEROD. iv. 99.

their name. Having passed the Tanais, the caravans entered into the steppe of Astracan, whence they took a northern direction across the country of the Sarmatians, reached the territory of the Budini, and arrived in the wooden city of the Geloni. Hence they turned to the north-east, and after seven days' journey through a desert, they reached the country of the Thyssagetæ and Jurcæ, on the frontiers of Siberia. After passing the Ural chain they came into the steppes of the Kirghis and Calmucks, which terminated their journey.

It is evident that this was not the shortest way from Olbia to the country of the Argippæi. It was necessary to turn to the left, make a circuit in the northern direction, and proceed as far up as the frontiers of Siberia, if not pass beyond them; for the account of Herodotus will not permit us to assign a more southern position to the regions traversed by the caravans. Perhaps this circuitous route was necessary, on account of the predatory hordes which infested the more direct way. It appears, however, from the text of Herodotus, that it was rather enjoined by the demands of commerce than any other necessity; and what proves this to a demonstration is the fact, that the caravans were obliged to use interpreters whom they could have dispensed with, if it had not been their purpose to traffic with different nations. With respect to the nature of this traffic, Herodotus himself has taken care to inform us that this road of the

Scythian caravans had been frequented from time immemorial by merchants who traded in furs.

According to the testimony of Herodotus, the Budini, Thyssagetæ, and Jurcæ, were all hunting people, who lived in the midst of the woods; they watched for the animals from the top of trees, and killed them with their arrows; sometimes also they hunted with horses and dogs. The deserts which separated their territories, formed, as it were, parks filled with all kinds of animals; and the object which they had in view when they hunted these animals, like the modern Siberians, was to possess themselves of their valuable furs. This is, moreover, confirmed by the following passage from Herodotus. "In the country of the Budini, there is a lake and a marsh full of rushes, where they catch otters, beavers, and other animals of the same kind, whose skins serve for the decoration of garments[7]."

The wooden city, of which we have spoken above, was situated in the country of the Budini, and was surrounded by a wooden enclosure, each side of which was thirty stades long.

[7] HEROD. iv. 109. The authenticity of this passage, doubted by some authors, has been justly defended by Schweighæuser, ad. h. l. Let naturalists explain, if they can, what is meant by square-headed animals. As to myself, I at first believed that sables were intended, although I have quitted this opinion, since the fact has come to my knowledge, that sea-dogs (phocæ vitulinæ) inhabit the lakes of Siberia. I have no doubt of these being the animals which Herodotus had in view, because they are amphibious, like those which he has mentioned first in this passage; and the surprising size of their head justifies the expression he has employed in defining them.

This establishment, founded by the Greeks of the commercial cities of Pontus, contained buildings and temples for their use[8]. There can be no doubt as to their object in founding this *slobode.* It could only be designed as a staple for the fur trade. And this fact explains why the Greek caravans, instead of taking the direct way to the end of their journey, did not reach it till after a long circuitous route to the north. For the wooden city was a great market, where they not only disposed of the fruits of their own industry, but received other commodities in exchange, which they carried away for the purpose of traffic with remote nations.

A German scholar[9], who, alas! died much too soon for the interests of science, a short time ago succeeded in throwing a brighter ray of light on these countries, hitherto involved in such obscurity. He has proved from original documents, that the country which has been sought for a long time on the north-west of Russia, is that into which we have just arrived with the caravans whose route Herodotus has described. This country comprehended the vast territory on both sides of the Ural chain, the

[8] HEROD. iv. 108.

[9] *Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der ältern Geschichte Ruszlands,* (Researches relative to the illustration of ancient Russian history,) by A. C. LEHRBERG, published by the Royal Academy of Sciences, under the superintendence of Ph. Krug. St. Petersburg, 1816; with an introductory biographical sketch, extremely interesting. This admirable man found after his death an equally admirable friend in the publisher of his work. The first treatise belongs to our subject; entitled, *On the geographical position and history of Jugria.*

government of Perm, and the western part of that of Tobolsk, to the banks of the Obi. Its inhabitants, the Jugrians, are the same who at this day live near the Obi, under the name of Voguls and Ostiacks. The district in question, one fourth larger than Germany, contains sixteen thousand square miles, from the 56th to the 67th degree of north latitude. It has been always celebrated for animals whose furs are held in estimation, found in the greatest numbers on the east of the Ural mountains, which were passed three different ways. The soil of this country is in a great measure marshy, and becomes more and more so as we advance towards the north: which explains the passage of Herodotus, where he mentions a large lake, or rather a marsh, of rushes. Here also were found the best sort of beavers, those, namely, who built near the water: and those animals which supply the finest furs, as sables, squirrels, and foxes, of every description[1]. During the long period of the middle ages, Jugria was in possession of this commerce. But after the eleventh century, this trade fell into the hands of the inhabitants of Novgorod, who soon reduced it into a province of their republic; nor did the ruin of this state, as Lehrberg has proved, interrupt the commerce in question[2]. Finally, the caravans of Bokhara came to these districts in the sixteenth century,

[1] LEHRBERG, l. c. p. 31.
[2] Ibid. p. 32.

and conveyed thither the commodities of their own country and of India[3].

We refrain as much as possible from founding our opinions on a mere resemblance of proper names. But if it is established that the Jurcæ inhabited the same country, where at a later period we find the Jugrians, and that this country extended into the interior of the Ural mountains, are we not authorised in supposing that the Jugrians and Jurcæ are the same people; and the commerce which subsisted amongst them until the fifteenth century of our era had flourished perhaps for several thousand years before? We find in these cold regions a city resembling that of the Budini; the *spotted herd*[4], so named from the piebald horses which they give to the Indians in exchange for their commodities; and lastly, we even hear of the fabulous traditions mentioned by Herodotus; for the story of men sleeping six months in the year is incontestably a Siberian tradition[5], which would naturally prevail in a region where, with the exception of man, the whole of nature animated and inanimated, sleeps during the winter.

The caravans, leaving behind them these countries of skins and these hunting tribes, turned to the east of the Thyssagetæ, and passed the Ural mountains, whose most southern branch under the name of Auro-Uruk, reaches to the

[3] LEHRBERG, p. 37, 38.
[4] Ibid. p. 41.
[5] Ibid. p. 44.

shores of the lake Aral. It would be difficult to determine the point at which they passed this chain; but it is probable that after having gone so far north, they did not effect the passage lower than Orenburg, in 52 degrees of north latitude; and the road which they followed from this point must have been one of those we have already described, conducting them from Orenburg to the steppes of the Kirghis; and, according to Herodotus, there was still a great distance to the country of the Argippæi; we must, therefore, seek the ancient abodes of this people in the eastern part of the steppes of the Kirghis; and perhaps they extended in a southern direction to the Jaxartes or the Sir-Darja, like the habitations of the Kirghis.

But it may now be asked whether they could expect amongst the Argippæi a favourable market for their principal commodity which were furs. In order to reply to this question, we must recollect an observation made in the introduction[6] to this work, that furs have been at all times not only an object of necessity, but also of luxury; as they have been used for personal decoration in general: hence they have been by no means confined to the northern countries, but have always found a market amongst the nations of southern Asia. Captain Cook had no difficulty in disposing of the otter skins which he had obtained from Nutka sound, in the market of Canton, a city of southern China. Going

[6] Vol. i. p. 114.

farther back into antiquity, we learn from Herodotus, that there were several tribes on the shores of the Caspian sea who wore cloaks of fur; and that they were also worn in Babylon, being considered a necessary to wealth, rank, and beauty. We have already observed furs among the presents of the governors, represented on the great relief of Persepolis[6]; and in the sequel of our researches, we shall prove that this object of luxury was in great estimation amongst the Indians from the most ancient times. The Scythians and Greeks, therefore, could have been under no difficulty in selling their furs to the Argippæi, any more than the Russians of modern days who exchange them at Kiachta for the merchandize of China. This will be set in a clearer light by the following observations.

Herodotus, it is true, says that the Scythian and Greek merchants of the Euxine sea did not go beyond the country of the Argippæi, but he does not say that this was the termination of their commerce. All we learn is, that the caravans of the east and west assembled amongst the Argippæi, and that they here found markets in which they exchanged their merchandize.

And in fact, although the journey of the Greeks ended in the country of the Argippæi, they were not ignorant of the existence of more remote tribes, such as the Issedones and Massagetæ. Whoever has studied the history of

[6] Vol. i. 224.

ancient commerce, will easily discover from the account of Herodotus, what it was which attracted the Greeks into those remote countries. However important the traffic in skins may have been, it could not have been sufficient to induce them to undertake such long and perilous journeys; in addition to this, they furnished themselves with horses, camels, and other beasts of burden from these pastoral tribes. They also procured various metals, for all these nations had much brass, and some of them a great abundance of gold[6].

Settled just on the frontiers of the mountainous districts of Asia, they maintained a relation with these countries; and their communication was facilitated by a long concatenation of various tribes which succeeded each other without interruption from these frontiers to Bactra and Maracanda, the two principal marts for Indian merchandize. This it must be confessed is only a presumption, but a presumption which approaches to certainty; for how could Herodotus have been so well acquainted

[6] The same abundance of gold is attributed to the nations which frequented the market of Jugria in the middle ages. LEHRBERG, l. c. p. 42.

[The information for which we are indebted to Herodotus on the subject of the riches of the Ural mountains, has been latterly confirmed by the discoveries of the Russians. The Ural chain is at this day the object of the most accurate scientific investigations. We know by the public papers, that gold is found there at such a very slight depth, that no expensive mining operations are necessary in order to obtain it. This sufficiently explains how the nomad tribes, such as they were described by Herodotus, were able to procure this metal without much trouble. *Inedited note of the author.*]

with the nations on the eastern side of the Caspian sea, if these districts had not been traversed by commercial roads? With respect to the object of this commerce, that is to say, gold, or the merchandize of India; here, as before, the historical inquirer has ample matter for admiration, as well as for the most serious reflection. And this surprise will considerably increase, when he reads in Herodotus that there existed at the same time an organized navigation on the Caspian sea. Herodotus is far from falling into a similar error with some more recent authors, who have supposed this sea to be a branch of the Northern ocean; he is acquainted with the circumstance of its being an inland sea, and even gives an estimate of its length and breadth in days' navigation[7].

Whence could he have obtained his knowledge if this navigation had not been really established? In the Macedonian period, the productions of India and Bactria were carried down the Oxus to the Caspian sea; then over this sea to the mouths of the Araxes and Cyrus; after that by land to the Phasis, where they were again conveyed by water to the different Greek cities on the coasts of the Euxine sea[8]. There is no positive historical evidence for this route which we have just traced; but one conjecture will naturally arise from other circumstances which we

[7] HEROD. i. 203.

[8] See my treatise, *de Græcorum cum Indis commerciis, in Commentat. Soc. Goett.* p. xi. 76.

know for certain respecting the traffic in its neighbourhood.

These conjectures seem to be strengthened by the picture which Herodotus has drawn of the character and manners of the principal nations of central Asia. He describes the Massagetæ as a warlike people, and the Argippæi and Issedones as devoted to peaceful possessions; which would almost make us suppose that there existed distinct castes amongst these nations. "The Argippæi," says he, "are never injured by any one, for they are regarded as a sacred and holy people. They carry no arms, and reconcile the differences of their neighbours. And when a man takes refuge with them, he is not disturbed[9]." Their territory was, therefore, a sanctuary, as well as the emporium of an extensive commerce. The name of holy people which was given them, shews plainly that there was a religious character attached to them, and that they filled the same office amongst the Mongols, as the sacerdotal order amongst other nations. The circumstance of their being bald, which is added by Herodotus, proves our assertion, for the priests of the Calmucks, that is to say, the Lamas, are bald headed. When he says of them that they reconciled their neighbours who were at variance with each other; this can imply nothing else than that they acted as mediators in the differences which occurred between the merchants who had come to so great a ditance from their own

[9] HEROD. iv. 23.

country, and were such entire strangers to each other. We thus discover the connecting link so often in antiquity uniting religion to commerce, which we have already observed in some nations, and shall have occasion to remark again as we proceed in our subject. Here, however, it differs a little from that which has been the subject of our previous observations, as it is appropriated to a particular place, and conformable to the ideas of a people who were not acquainted with either temples or any permanent sacred edifice, but at the utmost had only a tent set apart for religious purposes, like their descendants the modern Calmucks. As the Massagetæ, who were neighbours of the Argippæi on the south, and descended from the same stock, are represented in Herodotus as a warlike people, and accustomed to the use of arms, we may suppose that they formed a caste of soldiers. But this was not the case with the Issedones, who were neighbours of the Argippæans, and related to them like the Massagetæ, but were not devoted to arms; on the contrary, they were described under the honourable name of a just people, that is, civilized, and were not hostile to any other nation[4]. This nation in particular, were those from whom any information concerning the most remote districts of the east and north of Asia was obtained; for the Scythians had their intelligence from the Is-

[4] HEROD. iv. 26. Compare Gatterer's first treatise, *de Hunnis*, in Commentat. Soc. Goett. vol. xiv. p. 19, etc. In the second, he has placed the Budini and their neighbours on the east of the Sarmatians, instead of the north, quite contrary to the opinion of Herodotus.

sedones, and the Greeks from the Scythians. They thus appear as the commercial people, who extended their relations even to Greece. If we add to this, what has been remarked before, that the Seres were a branch of this nation, a still clearer light is thrown on the fact of the propagation of the woven stuffs of the Seres having been their principal employment; and the most ancient path of the silk trade is thus discovered amongst them.

Thus also it is explained, how the frontiers of their settlements became the principal seat of trade, and terminated the journey of the caravans which travelled thither from the shores of the Black Sea, in order to traffic for those productions which the Issedones imported from western Asia. But here, history is lost in complete darkness. We shall not, however, give up all hope of throwing some light upon this obscurity, particularly with regard to eastern Asia, when we shall have entered upon our investigation relative to the Indians, in the succeeding volume of this work.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

FARGARD I.

I. *The two first Fargards of the Vendidat, from the Zendavesta*[1].

ORMUZD, speaking to Sapetman Zoroaster, said as follows: "I have created, O Sapetman Zoroaster, a place of delights and abundance, such as no other being besides myself could have formed. It is called Eeriene Veedjô, and is more beautiful than the whole wide world. Nothing, indeed, can be compared to it for pleasantness.

I have acted first, but Peetiarê[2], whose soul is immortal, has exercised his own power after me.

The first abode of happiness and abundance which I created without any mixture of impurity, was Eeriene-Veedjô. Upon this came Ahriman, pregnant with death, and prepared in the river which waters Eeriene Veedjô, the great serpent of winter, the offspring of Div.

Here there were then ten months of winter and two of summer; whereas formerly the

[1] *Zendavesta*, by KLEUKER, tom. ii. p. 299.

[2] The source of evil, Ahriman.

warm weather lasted seven months, and the cold only five. The winter spreads cold all over the water, land, and trees; and is very severe in the middle of Eeriene Veedjô. This scourge, however, is highly beneficial to mankind; for scarcely has winter begun to appear, than all good things shoot forth in abundance.

The second place of happiness which I, Ormuzd, created for an habitation was Soghdi[3], abounding in men and herds. But the pernicious Peetiarê Ahriman produced swarms of flies, which destroyed the herds.

The third place of abundance which I fashioned for an abode, was the great and holy Môore[4]; then came Ahriman and introduced evil speeches.

The fourth place of delights created by me was the pure Bakhdi[5], decorated with lofty standards; thereupon came Peetiarê Ahriman, bringing death, and produced an army of ants.

The fifth place of abundance which I, Ormuzd, created was Nesa[6], between Môore and Bakhdi; then came the deadly Ahriman, and brought forth there reprehensible doubt.

The sixth place of plenty created by me was Haroin[7], celebrated for the number of its inhabi-

[3] Without doubt the modern Al Sogd, or Sogdiana. Whether this country is still infested with gadflies must be determined by future travellers.

[4] Môore, in Chorasan, the Margiana of the Greeks.

[5] Certainly Balkh or Bactria. How formidable an invasion of ants may be, is well known from their ravages in Guinea and the West Indies.

[6] Nesa, a city in Chorasan, the position assigned to it in the text will not allow us to confound it with Nysa on the Indian frontier.

[7] Probably Herat or Asia, properly so called.

tants. Upon this, Ahriman the destructive produced there the highest degree of misery.

The seventh country and town of abundance which I created, was Veékéreânte[8] with numerous villages. Here the deadly Ahriman instituted the worship of Peris (Fairies), which inflamed the anger of Gueshap.

The eighth country and place of felicity created by me, was Ornan[9], fertile in pastures. Thereupon came Ahriman breathing death, and poisoned men's hearts.

Khneântê[1] the abode of wolves, was the ninth place of abundance created by me; but the destructive Ahriman there perpetrated an act which rendered the passage of the Bridge Tschinevad impossible, which is a sin against nature.

The tenth place of felicity which I, Ormuzd, created, was the pure Heerekheeti[2]. Hereupon the deadly Peetiârê Ahriman instigated men to a crime, which obstructs the passage of the bridge; namely, the burial of dead bodies in the earth.

The eleventh country and town of abundance created by me, Ormuzd, was Heetomeante[3], the intelligent and happy; but the pernicious Peetiarê Ahriman introduced there magic, the bad

[8] In Pehlvi Kawûl, which bears a striking resemblance to Kabul.

[9] Perhaps Lahore, though we have not sufficient evidence of its identity.

[1] This place is uncertain; some writers suppose it means Kandahar. The bridge of Tschinevad leads from the mountain Albordi to the vault of heaven, the habitation of the blessed.

[2] In this word we may recognise Arokage (Arachotus) on the borders of India.

[3] Probably Hendmend in Shehestan.

art which produces all manner of illusions and procures all things. Specious as it may seem, it is nevertheless the offspring of the evil principle, the father of all calamity. Far is it from the great one, from him who doeth good!

The twelfth place of felicity created by me, Ormuzd, was Raghan[4], the abode of three germs, rich in understanding and free from passion. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman sowed there the seeds of fatal doubt and presumptuous insolence.

The thirteenth country and town of abundance created by me was Tschekhre[5], the powerful and holy. Here, however, the destructive Peetiarê Ahriman instigated to an action which prevents the passage of the bridge, namely, the practice of burning the dead.

The fourteenth place of happiness created by me, who am Ormuzd, was Verene[6], with four corners, forming a square, and the birth-place of Feridoun the vanquisher of Zohak. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman introduced there and into all its dependencies, the monthly purgations of women.

The fifteenth place of felicity, which I, Ormuzd, created was Hapte Heando[7], which rules over the seven Indies. India surpasses all the

[4] Supposed to be the town of Rey or Rages.

[5] This should be Chark in Chorasan.

[6] Apparently the district of Pars; if any doubt remains as to the identity of name, it is removed by the circumstance of its being mentioned as the country of Feridoun, a great hero among the Persians.

[7] There can hardly be any doubt, that Heando is the Zend form for Hind. The end of this, as well as the preceding verse, seems to allude to the premature puberty of women in hot climates.

rest of the world in power and extent. But the destructive Peetiarê Ahriman, the enemy of nature, inflamed (precipitated?) the monthly terms of the women.

The sixteenth country and town of happiness and abundance which I created was the mighty Rengheiao[8]; the abode of numerous cavaliers who acknowledged no superior. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman brought hither and into all its dependent villages, the raw cold of winter, the pernicious gift of Div.

These countries and towns were all pure and embellished with fruitful valleys—there was not the least uncleanness among them.

Abundance and Bihisht are the reward of him who is upright and pure[9]. He alone is holy and pure who doeth holy and pure actions.

FARGARD II.

Zoroaster asked Ormuzd as follows: "O Ormuzd, surrounded with majesty, thou equitable judge of the universe, who dost exist by thine own power, and who art purity itself; what man has first interrogated thee before myself, O thou who art Ormuzd? To whom hast thou communicated thy law?" Ormuzd replied, "the

[8] The locality of this place is uncertain; according to some, it is to be found in Assyria.

[9] The ordinary formula of benediction.

pure Jemshid, the chief of men and herds, was the first man who enquired of me as thou doest now, O Zoroaster! To him I imparted a knowledge of the law.

"I am Ormuzd, was my reply to him; be obedient to my law, O pure Jemshid, thou son of Vivengham; meditate upon it and convey it to thy people. But," answered Jemshid, "I am not just enough to execute thy law, to meditate upon it, or to convey its blessings to mankind." Upon this I replied, O Zoroaster, I who am Ormuzd, "cannot, Jemshid, execute my law; can he not meditate upon and communicate it to mankind? still less then will he be able to make happy the world, my property; to bless it with fertility and abundance, to be its nourisher, its chief, and its sovereign?" In answer to this, O Zoroaster, the pure Jemshid replied, "Yes, I will make the world thy peculiar possession, both happy, fruitful, and blessed; I will provide for its necessities, will nourish and govern it like a father, so that under my sovereign care there shall be no frosty or scorching wind, no corruption, no death; and the dews shall disappear as soon as I repeat the words of thy law."

"The holy zeal of Jemshid was great before me, and therefore he reigned. Whatever his sublime tongue commanded, was done immediately. I gave to him and his people nourishment, intelligence, and a long life; his hand received from me a poniard, the blade and hilt of which were gold. Upon this, King Jemshid traversed three hun-

dred parts[1] of the earth, inhabited by domestic animals as well as savage, by men, dogs, and birds, and filled with ruddy and brilliant fires. Before him there were neither tame nor savage animals, nor men, nor red-flaming fires; the pure Jemshid, the son of Vivengham, produced all."

"Jemshid arrived in the country of light (the south), and found it beautiful. He clave the ground with the blade of his golden poniard, and said, "Sapandomad[2], bless us!" He proceeded still further, and pronounced the holy word, accompanied with prayers for wild and tame animals and for men. Accordingly the expedition of Jemshid through these countries became the source of happiness and prosperity to this third part of the world. The domestic animals and wild beasts as well as men ran together in great crowds."

"In the same manner did Jemshid traverse the two other parts of the world."

"Jemshid now built Ver, the vast extent of which was comprehended in a square enclosure. Hither he brought the germ of wild and tame animals, of men, dogs, birds, and the ruddy bright flame of fire. The water burst forth in torrents, and surrounded the grand palace of Ver. Here were fowls of all kinds; and the ever-fruitful golden fields produced everything that was good to eat. Here too the youth were

[1] That is, the third part.

[2] The Ized (genie) of the earth.

shamefaced, modest, respectful, strong, and well nourished."

"Into Ver Jemshid brought the seed of men and women. The land was charming and excellent, and as pure as Bihisht. Hither, too, Jemshid conveyed the germ of all kinds of animals, of all trees, and all nourishment. The little hills of this country exhaled agreeable perfumes."

"Among all the inhabitants of Verefchue[3], there was no man who commanded with severity; no beggar; no impostor who would seduce people to the worship of Diû; no concealed enemy; no cruel tyrant, the oppressor of mankind; no ravenous tooth."

"Jemshid caused nine streets to be built in the large towns, six in those of moderate size, and three in the small ones. Jemshid constructed at Ver a palace on an eminence, which was surrounded with a wall, and its interior was divided into several apartments and well lighted."

"Jemshid endeavoured with all his might to render Ver complete, according to the commandment which I, Ormuzd, gave to him."

Abundance and Bihisht, etc. etc.

[3] That is Ver, rich in every blessing.

APPENDIX II.

On the cuneiform character, and particularly the inscriptions at Persepolis, by G. F. Grotefend.

You request me, Sir, to furnish you with a brief sketch of the result of my enquiries into the cuneiform character, and particularly the inscriptions at Persepolis, for the purpose of subjoining to the new edition of the first part of your Researches into the Politics and Commerce of the Nations of Antiquity. To a request so flattering, I shall endeavour to furnish the best answer I am able, and so much the more willingly, as I have been for some time waiting for a favourable opportunity of publicly testifying my acknowledgments to your kindness and friendship. Although in the present sketch we have only to do with the inscriptions of Persepolis, and specially with the kind I have deciphered, I shall nevertheless take advantage of your permission, to extend my remarks to the other kinds of cuneiform inscriptions, as far as may be compatible with the limits of the present essay; it having been discovered that the general conclusions

drawn in my first Treatise, were only applicable to the inscriptions at Persepolis. I shall therefore, first of all, endeavour to determine with exactness the particular as well as general character of all the known species of cuneiform writing, and then submit the results obtained from an examination of all the species, before I proceed to a detailed notice of the Zend inscriptions which I have succeeded in deciphering.

In my first Treatise, the cuneiform inscriptions are divided according to the countries where they are found, into three classes; viz. the Babylonian, the Persian, and the Ægyptico-Persian. But as both the Persian and the Babylonian species have been discovered in Egypt, it is obvious the above division is inadmissible, in a case where the cuneiform character is to be examined with reference to its distinctive peculiarities. Neither can we admit of a classification of these inscriptions, accordiug to the nail or arrow-headed form of the letters, because the very same characters, which, on the Babylonian bricks, resemble nails, or daggers, are observed to take the form of an arrow or hammer, or even simple lines, when graven on a finer sort of stone. Under these circumstances I shall endeavour to define the several species in some other manner, first pointing out the distinctive character of cuneiform writing in general, and then classifying the different kinds according to the different construction of their letters.

In the first place, I exclude all kinds of writ-

ing, more or less alike, which were used in the west and north of Europe, and confine to the term cuneiform those inscriptions only which have been discovered in the different provinces of the ancient Persian empire[4]. These inscriptions are distinguished from all other modes of writing adopted in the east, by the absence of everything like roundness: some specimens, it is true, present the appearance of circular characters; but upon comparing them with others, it is evident, that this form is rather a fault of the copyer than the true shape of the original. In my opinion, the cuneiform letters appear to have been exclusively destined for the purpose of engraving on stone, or other durable materials employed in public monuments; on urns, gems, seals, talismans, or amulets, etc., and were never intended for the ordinary purposes of writing, as in the latter case they were, like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, probably replaced by another kind of character more adapted to the wants of the people[5].—The elementary strokes of all cu-

[4] With respect to the extent of country over which cuneiform writing prevailed, see the *Hall. Allg. Litt. Zeitung.* for April 1820, No. 106.

[5] A particular kind of very hard baked bricks, found in the ruins of ancient Babylon, of which I gave the first account, in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. vi. No. 2, p. 161, and on which Münter fancied he discovered some astronomical observations, have been compared with other specimens, and found to contain documents. On certain of them the name of Darius, or some other Persian king, is engraved, in the third species of Persepolitan character, which is the same as the Babylonian; most of them are sealed on the sides, with a device, under which is found the name of the witness; or instead of a seal, they bear the impress of a cylinder. Two of them are furnished with an illegible inscription, the characters of which partly resemble Chaldee; though they do not appear

neiform writing are composed of wedges so called, and angles, which M. Murr has also denominated swallow-tails. Those writers who consider angular forms simply as the union of two wedges placed obliquely, and who therefore assume the wedge as the only stroke peculiar to this species of writing, are certainly mistaken, because, in consequence of such union the character receives quite a different form. Besides, these small angles, in many of the inscriptions, except those of Persepolis, appear to make up but one perfect triangle, the principal angle of which inclines to the left, so that, particularly when connected by a transverse wedge, they bear the appearance of a single wedge turned towards the left. In addition to the wedge-like and angular forms, we find on bricks, gems, and cylinders, and in both the large inscriptions discovered in Babylon and Persia, certain marks of conjunction, which however cannot be considered as integral portions of the

to differ from the Pehlvi engraved on ancient monuments, still unexplained. This writing, engraven by some more recent possessor of the documents, (one of which is subscribed with the name of Darius, and the second with that of another king, in the cuneiform character of Babylon, the original being partly erased, in reference to which the new inscription is upside down,) has been confounded by M. Kopp, in his *Bilder und schriften der Vorzeit*, (hieroglyphics and writing of antiquity,) vol. ii. p. 154, with a Phœnician inscription also of later date, and faintly inscribed in three lines on a Babylonian brick, in such a way, however, that, to use the expression of M. Bellino, it is very easy to leave the characters out altogether, though not as M. Kopp supposes, to decipher them. In these characters, which are graven on a brick, simply baked in the sun, I think I can discover the words " Ben dulkalnin," (son of the rays of the sun,) though M. Kopp is of a different opinion.

cuneiform character, because in precisely similar cases where they would be no less essential, they are altogether wanting, and in fact do not occur in any of the Persepolitan inscriptions. On the other hand, when upon comparing similar passages in different inscriptions, we find these marks of conjunction employed instead of small wedges, this interchange of the two characters must be attributed to a mistake of the copyer[6]. The elements of the cuneiform character from the ruins of Persepolis are exhibited in the most perfect manner, and in their full size, by M. Murr, in the *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. IV. Tab. I. Fig. E. 1, 2, 3. In order to characterize them with definitive accuracy, I shall make the following observations.

1. The wedge-shaped characters, whether primary or accesssory, great or small, in every specimen of inscription, assume chiefly four directions, but always so that their principal inclination is from top to bottom, or, in other words, from left to right. They are either perpendicular or horizontal, or inclining obliquely upwards or downwards: but their points are

[6] It is necessary to repeat here an observation which has not been sufficiently attended to. It is, that the most exact copyer has not always, or indeed even could copy an inscription with such minute accuracy as to represent all the peculiarities of the original. Nay, more, it is very possible for mistakes to have crept into the original itself, as well as the copy; and an enlightend critic is therefore free to correct the draught of an inscription when he can do so on valid grounds. In fact, had I depended solely on Niebuhr's copy, my attempts to decipher these inscriptions would have succeeded just as little as those of my predecessors who were more scrupulous.

neither turned directly upwards, or transversely to the left. Should they appear occasionally to assume the latter direction, it is either owing to the fault of the copyist, or else the particular character is composed of an angle. The initial sign upon all the bricks, which represents an assemblage of all the directions of the cuneiform character crossing each other, is copied in Murr's Journal (vol. IV. tab. I. fig. C.) under the form of a star with eight rays. Pietro della Valle, who discovered the same sign on some bricks in the desert, compares it, in like manner, to an eight-rayed star; but in no one species of cuneiform writing are all these eight directions found to exist at the same time.

2. The angular-shaped character, whether great or small, affects only one direction, so that the opening is constantly turned to the right. When it happens to be otherwise, it is in consequence of the copyer having confounded the angular with the wedge form, as for instance, in the inscription of the royal mantle quoted by Le Bruyn; or from his having reversed the character, as is the case with the name of Gushtasp in Niebuhr, fig. C, which M. de Murr has cited as the only instance in Niebuhr's inscriptions where the angular letters are placed one over the other, like a roof. The Babylonian angular character, the opening of which is turned towards the left, is composed for the most part either of lines of conjunction crossing each other, as is observable upon a comparison of cer-

tain bricks, or of the union of two oblique wedge-shaped letters. Accordingly, we find on some bricks a character which appears to consist of two half moons turned to the left, and placed one over the other, but which, in point of fact, according to its real design, is composed of four oblique wedges, so placed as to form a zigzag.

This very character, which on the cylinders ordinarily stands at the commencement of the second line, has, in various copies, the appearance of a Latin B unrounded, thus ⋟, or without the stroke of conjunction which precedes it, that of a Latin W placed sideways, as ⋗, besides many other distorted and connected forms, which seriously augment the difficulties of deciphering them.

These preliminary notices are enough to shew, beyond the possibility of mistake, in what direction we are to read a cuneiform inscription. That is to say, we must place ourselves in such a manner, that the points of the vertical wedge letters may look downwards, and those of the oblique ones, as well as the openings of the angular letters, may be turned to the right. This being observed, we shall find that no cuneiform writing has a perpendicular, but always an horizontal direction, and that the accompanying figures occurring on gems and cylinders, afford no sort of criterion as to the real direction of the writing. The fragment of a stone covered with cuneiform letters, which was found near Suez, and copied by Gen. Dugua for Denon, (*Voyage*, pl. 124,) and which repre-

sents the head of a Persian, with a hawk's wing above it, in token of apotheosis, will furnish a striking example of the very little connexion subsisting between these figures and the direction of the writing by their side, as well as the slight dependence to be placed on some copies. The inscription on the above stone, is only distinguishable from the cuneiform writing in the Zend language at Persepolis, by the absence of any division between the words; and, with the exception of two or three inconsiderable mistakes in the copy, and an unfinished U standing by itself, represents pretty clearly the words *Dârheûsch Khschéhiôh eghré*, (that is, Darius the valiant king); in the beginning, however, three letters and a half, and at the end, three are wanting, and the royal title is expressed in the ordinary manner by a monogram. We cannot reasonably doubt the correctness of this interpretation, as Count Caylus has already published an account of an Egyptian urn furnished with a similar inscription relative to Xerxes, and the hawk's wing alludes to the apotheosis of Darius, an honour which, according to Diodorus in his first book, was never rendered in Egypt to any other living monarch but Darius. Supposing our explanation to be correct, we may remark, that the characters of this inscription are traced in such an inverted manner, that it is almost impossible to read them, except by elevating the stone itself above one's head[7].

[7] It has subsequently been ascertained that the inscription and figures

The different species of cuneiform writing are determined by the degree of simplicity apparent in the formation of characters, by means of the two elementary strokes before noticed. The letters on the monuments at Persepolis are the least complicated of any; and of the three kinds of writing there found, the first place is assigned on the urn discovered by Count Caylus to the most simple, and the second to the more so of the two others. According to this arrangement, therefore, the various kinds of cuneiform character may be classified in the following manner.

1. First of all, rank the cuneiform characters of the Persepolitan inscriptions, which in their turn may be subdivided into three classes, each of them exactly indicated on the ruins of Persepolis, as well as on the urn of Count Caylus. The first, deciphered by me in the Zend, that is, in all probability, the Median language, is found above one of the windows of Darius's palace. The second, which is to the right of these windows, would seem to belong to the Parsi, the language of the true Persians. The third, which is situated to the left, or to the right of the spectator, likewise exhibits all the characteristics of some other Persian dialect; the absence of any prefixes shews that it cannot be-

upon this stone were copied from different parts of a monument erected under the Persian king Darius, on the canal which joined the Nile with the Red Sea; and that the absence of any division between the words was entirely the fault of the transcriber. A perfect copy of this inscription would furnish the best proof of the correctness of my interpretation. Compare my treatise in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. vi. No. 3, p. 252, sq.

long to the Semitic family. The second species, which occupies an intermediate rank between the two others, is distinguished from the first, which I consider to be the ancient Assyrian writing mentioned in one of the letters attributed to Themistocles; by the circumstance of its containing less of the angular than the oblique wedge letter; while it differs from the third kind by the absence of any oblique, or crossing wedge letters.

2. Next to the above, we must class the writing on a stone described by M. Millin, (Monumens Antiques, pl. VIII. IX. No. 1.) the characters of which partly resemble the Persepolitan of the third kind, and partly those of the Babylonian bricks, gems, and cylinders, without however being perfectly similar. We may also remark in this writing, some of the strokes of union which characterize the Babylonian cuneiform letters.

3. The third and last rank will be assigned to the characters of the large inscription found in the ruins of ancient Babylon, together with those on the bricks, gems, and cylinders, recently published at London by the East India company. These are the most complicated of any, and present not only the same characters, but also the same words, and occasionally even the same contents. This kind of writing is distinguished by the multiplication of the strokes of union, and by the sign resembling a star with eight rays, which occurs at the commencement of all

writing on bricks, as may be seen in the large inscription of London. As this peculiar sign is only met with in the cuneiform writing of this class, I have for that reason included under it the bricks and gems of the desert extending from Basora to Aleppo, which are mentioned by Pietro della Valle, as well as the jaspers, made known to us through the medium of the East India Company.

Of each of these specimens of cuneiform writing, I shall venture to submit the following elementary principles, as the general result of my examination.

1. The cuneiform inscriptions are all written in a horizontal direction, from left to right, by no means however vertically, or alternately from right to left, and from left to right.

It is almost two hundred years since Pietro della Valle (Voyage, Paris, 1745, tom. V. p. 320, sq.) and Figueroa, the ambassador from the court of Philip III. of Spain, came to a similar conclusion from examining the wedge-shaped and angular inscriptions of Persepolis; viz. that the cuneiform writing proceeded from left to right; and this general principle has been confirmed by so many particular examinations of each species, that I have not room to notice them all. When Chardin, however, (Travels, p. 168,) accompanies the remark of Figueroa with the observation, that cuneiform writing is also read from top to bottom, like the Chinese, (alluding particularly to the inscriptions over the

windows of Darius's palace,) he no more contradicts our opinion, than if he said, that is was also read in a circular manner, as is actually the case with an inscription which completely surrounds the head of a cameo in Tassie's collection, (*Raspe Catal. No.* 655,) because in the latter instance, the characters are arranged like the legends on our money, so that the direction from left to right is still preserved, as in the horizontal situation. The analogy between the three species of the Persepolitan writing proves incontestably that they are to be read from left to right; and the same holds good also with regard to the Babylonian bricks. It is evident also, that Niebuhr must have drawn the same conclusion, from his having remarked, (vol. II. p. 143,) that in the inscriptions graven on the door-posts of the building I. (Nieb. tab. XXIV. E.F.G.) two characters occurring on one of the doors to the right, at the end of the third line, were repeated on the other door to the left, at the commencement of the fourth line.

When M. Hager, at the end of his last treatise, *Illustrazione d'uno Zodiaco Orientale*, maintains that the cuneiform writing of Babylon descends like the Chinese in perpendicular columns, of which the farthest to the right is the first; his opinion certainly corresponds with the series of signs I have adopted, though he reverses the inscriptions themselves, being misled by the lines drawn as a mark of separation, and by the po-

sition of these inscriptions on the cylinder alongside of the figures. That all the Babylonian inscriptions are to be read in the manner I have before prescribed, that is to say, in the initial sign of all the bricks, the vertical wedge-letters turn their points downwards, while the oblique ones, on the contrary, turn theirs to the right, is proved by the great London inscription, which is written from left to right, as demonstrably, as M. Millin has already shewn in the case of the stone found near Tak-Kesra. The same may be said of the gems and cylinders charged with similar writing; though being intended for impression, and for the purpose of attesting documents, they generally present the characters reversed. M. Lichtenstein was therefore too precipitate, when he inferred from the oriental origin of the cuneiform writing, that it must in consequence be read from right to left. He was supported in this conclusion by a specious argument of M. Wahl, (*Algemeine Geshichte der Morgenländischen Sprachen. General History of Oriental Languages*, p. 618,) (who however really maintained a different opinion,) and forthwith he set about deciphering the cuneiform character, upon principles altogether arbitrary, with the assistance of some known alphabet, without having previously compared the different inscriptions together. In confounding the term oriental with Aramean, it never occurred to him that the writing of an oriental people might very well have a direction quite contrary to the Aramean; and that there

might be inscriptions engraven on stones from left to right, while the ordinary mode of writing followed an opposite direction.

2. All cuneiform writing is composed of letters, and not merely of syllabic signs.

The principle which I have just laid down has scarcely been combated, except by a single writer; and yet in reference to the more complicated species of cuneiform writing, almost all my predecessors have taken an opposite view of the question. It will therefore be worth my while to establish its correctness by a particular review, under certain limitations, of each kind of cuneiform writing.

It is perfectly certain that none of these writings are composed of signs or compendious characters, for, generally, several enter into the composition of one word; and there are words compounded of as many as eleven characters in the first species of Persepolitan writing, of nine in the second, and of seven in the rest. Besides, under the supposition that any of the complicated specimens of cuneiform writing were hieroglyphic, I cannot conceive why the same characters should be so often repeated, or why several of them should even immediately succeed each other two or three times running. In the first case, supposing the mode of writing to be by signs, it is obvious, the circle of ideas must be extremely confined; while the other supposition is inadmissible, except we limit the number of these signs to a few such words, as "king,"

" lord," " prince," " sacred," etc., not expressed in as many characters. It is very true, that the reduplication of a sign might signify the dual number, as its triple repetition might stand for the plural, because in Duperron's Vocabulary of the Zend and Pehlvi, the dual is usually marked by the number two, as the plural is by three. But then the repetition of these signs would be more frequent than it is; we should meet with several signs following each other in immediate succession; and, what is of much more consequence, the triple repetition, as a mark of the plural, would be more common than the simple reduplication; the reverse of which, however, is evident from examining the inscriptions. I am convinced, therefore, that none of the cuneiform writings are composed of signs or whole words. It would be less easy to prove that they do not consist of simple syllabic writing in the strict acceptation of the term; but that, on the contrary, the whole of the signs employed, though with considerable variations, might be arranged under one alphabet. It is essential to remark, that the more complicated the characters are, the fewer of them enter into the composition of a word; a circumstance which would lead us to infer, that even though all cuneiform writing was alphabetic, yet the manner of composing syllables and words of letters was necessarily subject to considerable variation. I shall therefore endeavour to enumerate all the possible varieties of compounding alphabetical signs before I proceed

to examine each species of cuneiform writing in detail.

Literal writing then may either employ consonants alone, and designate the vowels by intercalated signs, placed above or below the consonants, as is the case in several eastern alphabets, or, agreeably to western usage, it may elevate the marks for repeating consonants, as well as those for vowels, to the rank of independent letters; or, in short, it may employ particular signs for denoting a short or long vowel, an acute or a grave, as, for example, in the ancient Persian. Accordingly the letters of a particular syllable might be written in an isolated form, or they might be joined together, and in fact, like several alphabets of southern Asia, certain accessory marks might be added to the consonants, according to the different vowels subjoined to them, so that the writing would appear at first to be syllabic, while in reality, from its alphabetical construction, and the analogy of its signs, it would truly be a writing composed of separate characters. If we consider this last species of writing as formed of letters, I will boldly venture to assert, that every kind of cuneiform writing is in like manner composed of characters; but if the propriety of that appellation be disputed, I must certainly allow the most complicated species of cuneiform writing to be syllabic, though it may also possess certain signs to represent the vowels; thus in the Persepolitan inscriptions we meet with monograms to denote whole words.

The perfectly opposite nature of the Persian and Aramean tongues will not allow us to suppose, in the case of the Persian or Babylonian remains, the existence of any syllabic writing, like that of Japan.

It is now time, however, for me to speak of each kind of cuneiform writing in particular, for it becomes necessary in this place more especially to mark the distinction between them.

The first of the Persepolitan kinds of writing is now generally allowed to be alphabetical, since M. M. Tychsen and Münter were so fortunate as to discover the sign, denoting the separation of words, and which intercludes from two to eleven characters on both sides, though the sum of all the primitive characters never exceeds forty. M. Tychsen has observed, that in several inscriptions, the series of signs so frequently occurring is replaced by a monogram; and very probably he might have succeeded in deciphering the whole writing before myself had he taken this monogram for the title, and not for the name of the king. A more successful attempt has now proved that this species of writing has not only particular signs to represent the vowels as well as the consonants, but that, like the ancient Zend inscription discovered by Anquetil Duperron, it also distinguishes the long vowels from the short and acute. M. Tychsen appears to consider the second and third kinds as specimens of this mode of writing; while M. Münter regards the second as syllabic and the third as

hieroglyphic. For myself, I am no more at liberty than my predecessors entirely to reject this opinion, as long as the inscriptions in question have not yet been completely deciphered; nevertheless, from the comparison I have made of analogous inscriptions, I feel myself justified in asserting, that neither of these two kinds is a writing of signs; since both in one and the other, though less frequently in the third, we may remark the occurrence of inflections composed of several signs. With respect to the second kind, owing to the great number of multiplied signs which it exhibits for detached words, I must allow its employment of particular signs for the long and short vowels, as well as signs of consonants, including the vowel, provided I am not mistaken in my opinion, that certain words of the first kind are cited literally in the second. On the other hand, as to the third species of writing, which has occasion for very few signs in the composition of words, though the number it employs is nevertheless much greater than that of our alphabets, I must absolutely deny it the use of vowel signs altogether; and therefore I concede the employment of consonants, including a vowel, in cases where one consonant alone would be insufficient. As far as regards the other specimens of cuneiform writing, I have not been able to compare them with any that has already been deciphered, such as the Persepolitan; but after having compared them with several analogous inscriptions, such as those on bricks; and

collated numerous passages from the large inscriptions, I can confidently venture to assert, that they do not contain a compendious writing of signs, because it is easy to discover in them instances of four or five characters following in succession, and, as it were, connected together. I have already observed in another place[1], that I consider syllabic and literal writing, to a certain extent, as identical terms, as long as we can apply them indifferently to a species of writing, which, like the Hebrew, excludes the vowels from the rank of consonants, and unites, by means of connecting strokes, such of the consonants as are immediately dependent on each other. Whoever wishes to know my reasons for holding this opinion, will find them detailed at length in the literary periodical already alluded to; I shall only add, that considered under this point of view, I allow the great inscription, published by Millin, to possess the same character as the Babylonian cuneiform writing. It would be unreasonable to expect more decisive proofs, till such time as we possess a complete interpretation of one of the most complicated specimens of this kind of writing; for the present, it will be enough to have shewn, that none of the cuneiform inscriptions are stenographic, or composed of signs representing whole words, and that consequently their explanation is by no means impracticable.

[1] *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaischen Allgemeinen Litteraturzeitung*, 1824, No. 101.

Let us now then proceed to an examination of my own method of deciphering the first species of Persepolitan writing; after which I shall endeavour to furnish a brief sketch of the results obtained from my interpretation as far as they may interest the general historian. With regard to my mode of procedure and manner of deciphering, they are both so excellently laid down by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy, in a letter to M. Millin, (Magasin Encyclopédique Année VIII. tome v. p. 438,) that I need only refer the reader to that source. But as it might prove interesting to know how a person, without any profound acquaintance with oriental languages, has been able to decipher a species of Asiatic writing of the most remote antiquity, of which the alphabet, the language, and the contents, were equally unknown, I may as well enter into a few details relative to the history of my interpretation.

Among the inscriptions of the first kind, there are two very accurately copied by Niebuhr, (Vol. ii. tab. xxiv. B. and G.) They are accompanied with translations evidently made from the two other kinds of writing which are of the same size, and, according to all appearance, of the same contents; and therefore as the first kind is in general the most simple of all the cuneiform writings, my predecessors have applied themselves to decipher it in preference to the rest. From the same point also I took my own departure, particularly as the word recognized by

Tychser and Münter as the key of the whole alphabet occurs most frequently in the species in question; and supposing with Tychsen, that we must look for titles of kings in the inscriptions placed over their portraits (Niebuhr, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 112, 117), I felt convinced that the word so often repeated, must signify "*King*." Having therefore arrived at the same principle as Tychsen and Münter, without perusing any work upon cuneiform writing, and without seeing any other copies than those of Le Bruyn and Niebuhr[2], I translated the two inscriptions according to the analogy of those in Pehlvi deciphered by M. de Sacy in the following manner.

N. N. REX. MAGNUS (?) REX. REGUM. (REX.—UM.) FILIUS—. (REGIS). STIRPS. ACHAEMENIS (?) (-----)

I was thus naturally led to infer, that these two kings must be father and son, because the king in Niebuhr's pl. *G* was called the son of the king in pl. *B*; and because in both the translations of the other kinds of writing, there existed the same connexion between the two names. Upon this I examined Heeren's Researches, and the essay of M. Münter, in order to ascertain the particular age of the Persian kings, to which the

[2] I cannot omit expressing my obligations to my fellow-helper and friend M. Fiorillo, at that time secretary to the library, and afterwards *magister legens* at Göttigen, who first persuaded me to attempt deciphering these inscriptions, and assisted me with his advice for the first eight to fifteen days, during which I was busied in establishing the general principles. To the same person I am also indebted for the liberal and friendly communication of whatever essentially concerned the literature of cuneiform writing.

bas-reliefs in the ruins of Persepolis belonged, and thereby to discover the names applicable to them, the only way in which I could possibly succeed in finding out the signification of certain letters, and ultimately by this means elucidate the whole of them. Being fully persuaded, from an examination of the contemporary Greek historians, whose writings are the most circumstantial of any we know, that I must in this case look for two kings of the dynasty of the Achæmenides, I in consequence ran over the list, and successively applied the names to the characters of the inscriptions. These names could obviously be neither Cyrus nor Cambyses, because the names occurring in the inscriptions do not begin with the same letter: Cyrus and Artaxerxes were equally inapplicable, because in reference to the characters, the first is too short and the second too long; there only remained therefore the names of Darius and Xerxes; and these latter agreed so exactly with the characters, that I could not hesitate in selecting them. Besides, in the inscription relative to the son, the royal title was also attributed to the father, but not in the one relating to the latter; an observation which holds good with regard to the Persepolitan inscriptions generally. Having thus found out more than twelve letters, among which were precisely those composing the royal title, with the exception of only one, the next business was to give these names, hitherto merely known to us by Greek pronunciation, their true Persian form,

in order, by ascertaining the correct value of each character, to decipher the king's title, and thereby also to determine the particular language in which the inscriptions were written. The Zendavesta of Anquetil Duperron appeared to furnish the best information on the subject, especially as the frequent use of vowels had already inclined M. Münter towards the Zend. From this authority I learned that the Greek name of Hystaspes was pronounced, in Persian, Goshtasp, Gustasp, Kistasp, or Wistasp. Here, then, were the seven first letters of the word Hystaspes in the inscription of Darius, already pointed out; while a comparison of all the royal titles led me to conclude, that the three last formed the inflection of the genitive case singular. It is scarcely possible to admit the conjecture of M. Duperron, that the name of Darius was pronounced, in Persian, *Eanteraffesh;* for in Reland's Dissertation, *De vet. ling. Pers.* I observe the following quotation from Strabo[3]; τὸν Δαρειαύην (consequently in the nominative *Dariaves,* or, according to the Persian system, *Dariavesh*) Δαρεῖον ἐκάλεσαν; and it is not easy to conceive why the Greeks and the Hebrew writers should have transformed *Eanteraffesh* into *Dareios* or *Dariavesh.* I confined myself, therefore, to the word Darius, or Dariavesh, and only endeavoured to find out the Persian sounds in the name of Xerxes. Without stopping at the name of Artaxerxes in the Pehlvi or the modern Persian, I gave

[3] Strab. xvi. sub fin.

the preference to the Zend, taking as a model the word Araxes, on which Duperron makes the following remark in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi. page 367. "Araxes is formed from Weorokeshe or Warakshe, simply by dropping the first letter; and *Kshe* is always represented in Greek by ξ." In consequence, I had no hesitation in transforming the name of Xerxes into Kshershe or Ksharsha, being guided by the letters indicated in the words Hystaspes and Darius; the only difficulty was the occurrence of and additional sign between the first *sh* and the *e*, which last Münter rightly conjectured to be the first letter of the Zend alphabet, and which has also the value of an open *a*. Having compared afresh all the inscriptions given by Niebuhr and Le Bruyn, in order to assure myself that the names were faithfully copied, I found that the fourth character in the word Hystaspes ought to be composed of three principal wedges of the same length; but that in the name of Xerxes, the third character ought to be written with only one, and the fifth, on the contrary, with three transverse wedges. This circumstance led me to remark, that the third character in the name of Xerxes was synonymous with the fourth and last of the royal title; and as the three first signs in this title had been ascertained by means of the name of Xerxes, and the last but one, by that of Hystaspes, I endeavoured to decipher the whole, in order to find out the meaning of the unknown sign, which

also occurs in the name of Darius, after the three first characters representing the syllable *Dar*. The vocabulary of the Zend language, by M. Duperron, presented no word under the letters *Kshe*, signifying *King*, but a number of equivalent forms under *Kshhe*, which led me to understand the language of the inscription, and proved to a certainty that the first letter in the name of Xerxes was *Kh*; but I found no clue to the meaning of the unknown sign. In the mean while, however, as no form of the Zend accorded better with the characters of the inscription than that of *Khsheïo*, I assumed this unknown sign as the mark of aspiration, or a long *h*. I was the less scrupulous in admitting some such sign of aspiration, as I had before observed in the Zendavesta a number of words written sometimes with, at others without an *h*; and had also met with a remark (in the *Mémoires* already quoted, page 365,) to the effect, that "a final *a* is aspirated as if it was followed by an *h*." This also would serve to explain satisfactorily the third character in the name of Xerxes, as well as the fourth in that of Darius; and the *h* would apply with equal propriety to the inflection of the genitive case singular *ahe*, and to the end of the word *ăh* so often occurring, as *tsh* does to the inflection of the genitive plural *etshao*. I have recognized this aspiration in several words of the Persepolitan inscriptions; as for example in *Dahutshao*, which I at first supposed to stand for *Daharum*, but which a continued study of the

Zend language has shewn me to be synonymous with *populorum*. But since M. de Sacy has made several well-grounded objections[4] relative to the names of Xerxes and Darius, I began to conjecture, that this sign might also serve to determine the correct pronunciation of the names in which it occurs, and provide against their being enounced *Khsher-she* instead of *Khsh-ershe*, or *Da-re-ush* instead of *Dar-eush*[5].

In this case, one might imagine the aspirate to be changed, after certain consonants, into *w* or *y*, so that the two names just mentioned would be pronounced *Khshwershe* and *Daryeush* or *Daryeoesh*; a supposition which may serve to explain how the Hebrews, like the Egyptians, by placing an *a* before each word commencing with two silent consonants, in order to facilitate

[4] I am not so scrupulous as M. de Sacy about the transposition of *h* in the word *Khshhershe*, instead of *Khshehrshe*; particularly as that learned scholar himself observes in his *Mémoire, M. de Sassanid.* p. 175, (see also p. 191.) "In the name of *Sapor*, the *heth* of the last syllable is placed after the *resch*, which makes *Schapourh*."—"On the reverse, the the name of the king is well engraved, but the *vaw* of the syllable *pouhri* is placed after the *heth*, which makes *Schaphouri*."

[5] The names of Darius and Xerxes do not appear to be simple, but compound words, of which the first part is an abbreviation of *Dara* (Lord) and *Kshah* (King); which is the reason why Œlius Lampridius in Alex. Severus, calls Artaxerxes "*potentissimum regem tam re quam nomine.*" Herodotus, on the other hand, (vi. c. 98,) explains Artaxerxes by μέγας ἀρήϊος, and Ammianus Marcellinus by "*bellorum victor.*" Herodotus seems to have merely translated the latter parts of the names Darius and Xerxes by ἐρξείης and ἀρήϊος, imitating, after the Greek fashion, the sound of the Persian word, though in an inverted order: at all events ἐρξείης is a term fabricated by Herodotus himself, for ῥεξίας or πρηκτήρ, that is to say πολεμικὸς, according to the explanation of the *Etymologicum magnum*, in which Δαρεῖος is, after Hesychius, derived from the Greek δῆρις, i. e. φρόνιμος.

the pronunciation, as the French would employ an é for the same purpose, might easily change the name of Xerxes into אחשורש *Ahhashverosh*, and Darius into דריוש *Daryavesh*. In all probability the Persian name of Xerxes might contain the sound of *w*, omitted by the Greeks for want of a corresponding sign, as in the case of *Ἀράξης* for *Worokeshe* or *Warakshe;* such at least might be gathered from the different ways of spelling this name, that is, if we admit the words *Ἀσσουῆρος*, *Ὀξυάρης*, *Ὀξυάρτης* and *Ἀξάρης* (in *Κυαξάρης*) to be nothing more than different modifications of *Ξέρξης*, just as *Ἀρτοξάρης*, *Ἀρταξάρης*, and *Ἀρταξάστης*, are of *Ἀρτοξέρξης* or *Ἀρταξέρξης* (in Zend *Artakhshethr*, in Pehlvi *Artashir*, in Persian *Ardeshir*, in Arabic *Azdeshir*), with the initial *Art* or *Ard*, (strenuus, magnus, fortitudine pollens, Herod. vi. 98.) Not being myself sufficiently versed in the oriental languages to pronounce decisively on this point, I shall merely add that M. de Sacy himself has confessed his complete failure in every attempt to give the characters another signification. M. de Rozière, in his *Déscription de l'Egypte*, (Antiquités, Mémoires, tom. i. livraison iii. p. 265, 276,) objected to the introduction in the name of Darius of the letter *h*, so difficult for French organs to pronounce; and M. Saint-Martin also, in his last essay has changed it into *é*, a mode of procedure which has led him to other deviations from my method of deciphering; but he adduces so little reason for his alterations, that I cannot

venture to adopt any of them. The hieroglyphics engraven on the urn of Count Caylus, entirely confirm my interpretation, as, according to M. Champollion, they exhibit the name of Xerxes in literal characters, *Khshharsha*. Again, the name of Hadrian, in which the sign asserted by M. Champollion to represent a Greek *h* precedes the letter *a*, proves that this sign is rather a Latin *h*, or the fifth character of the phonetic alphabet, which, instead of vowels, has only their *fulcra*, and therefore employed the *hé* to designate the Greek *e*. This remark alone is sufficient to overthrow the whole structure of M. Saint-Martin's plan of deciphering, as far as his determination of the sign in question is concerned, even though it were free from numerous misconceptions of another kind.

There is no occasion for me to detail the particular method which I followed, in gradually tracing out the signification of all the other characters, as it must be sufficiently evident, from what has already been said, that my mode of procedure, so far from being conducted on arbitrary principles, has been as circumspect as possible, and that my plan of deciphering, least of all deserves the imputation of blind chance, which certain partisans of my antagonist have been pleased to throw upon it. I shall only observe, that if I flatter myself with having succeeded in deciphering the first specimen of Persepolitan character, it can scarcely in fairness be required of me to furnish also a satisfactory ex-

planation of the writing itself, though it is too much the general custom to confound the business of a decipherer with that of an interpreter. Being little acquainted with the oriental languages, I have merely endeavoured to determine the value of each sign by a species of logical induction, founded on a comparison of all the cognate inscriptions, and the different combinations of their characters. The way being once laid open, it will be the appropriate task of the orientalist alone to furnish a complete interpretation of the writing now first rendered legible; it were too much to call upon the decipherer himself to prove the validity of his system by engaging in such an attempt, particularly when there is no such thing as dictionary or grammar of the deciphered language in existence, but only a few detached fragments. This will serve as an answer to those who, inconsiderately enough, require what is beyond one's power to effect. In the mean while, however, the following corroboration of one of my conjectures may be advanced as a satisfactory proof of the little reason there is to doubt the reality of the Persepolitan Zend alphabet having been actually deciphered.

M. Münter informed me by letter, that M. Fuglsang, a clergyman, well versed in the Sanscrit, and who returned two years since from Tranquebar, had communicated to him, among other things, the remark, that some Englishmen were in the habit of writing and employing the word *bun*, as a Sanscrit term, signifying *descend-*

ants, race; and that in consequence they made use of the expression, *surya buns,* and *chandra buns,* to denote, *descendants of the sun and moon.* Whoever is acquainted with the striking analogy existing between the Zend and the Sanscrit, will immediately recognise in the above fact, no small confirmation of the truth of my rather daring hypothesis at first, when asserting that the word *bun* must signify *stirps,* though M. Duperron had only given *root, foundation,* as its meaning. Further, M. de Sacy assures us that he met with the word *pun* (as he writes it, though M. Duperron constantly has *bun, bon,* or *bonem*) in the above sense, on several monuments of the Sassanide dynasty. Nevertheless, I cannot help thinking, that this word, as well as *pothré* or *pothrém,* which Duperron (Zendavesta, i. 2, p. 179, No. 2,) translates by *son* and *germ,* might also signify *son;* and I refer it to the preceding genitive cases, because in the great inscription of Le Bruyn, (No. 131, lin. 14,) we read *bon darheaush khshehiohahe,* and the word *bome* (lin. 12, in Pehlvi, *boman;* "son,") is expressed in the translation of the second species of cuneiform writing by the same character as *bon.* So that there is no occasion to supply the word *son* in the titles of Darius and Xerxes: and the word *akheotshoshoh,* which ordinarily follows that of *bun,* may perhaps be considered as an epithet of the latter.

I shall not detain the reader any longer with unseasonable conjectures relative to the interpretation of these inscriptions, as there is reason

to expect, that M. Duperron's observations on the Zend will at some future day be entirely cleared up. It is sufficient to have shewn that the Zend is the language of the first class of inscriptions, and that my deciphering of the alphabet, a few signs only excepted, reposes on solid grounds. Although I cannot flatter myself with having done as much in this case as M. de Sacy has for the Sassanide inscriptions, yet I feel abundantly recompensed for my labour by the conviction, that the rational system I have adopted has at length set bounds to the prevailing mania for arbitrary hypotheses, and secured the public from an inundation of writings, which threatened to embroil rather than to elucidate the question. From my researches then I come to the following conclusions.

1. All the cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis at present known, have reference to Darius Hystaspis, and his son Xerxes; consequently to these kings belong all the edifices on which they are inscribed, and the bas-reliefs of which attest the high degree of Persian civilization and taste at this early period. In order, therefore, to furnish the reader with an exact notion of what concerns the two monarchs respectively, I shall proceed to a particular enumeration of all the inscriptions alluded to; first of all remarking, that those found on the royal mantle, which Le Bruyn (No. 133) assures us that he put together again from several broken pieces, are in fact fragments of two inscriptions, relating to

the two kings whose portraits are placed side by side, and which inscriptions are written in all the three kinds of character, but have been confounded by Le Bruyn into one, and in such an inverted manner, that it is necessary to read them from bottom to top, so that in consequence the four first lines contain the inscription relative to Darius, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh, that concerning Xerxes. The former is almost entire, at least in the first kind of writing, and evidently represents these words:

DARHEUSH K - - - - H EGHRE GOSHTASPAHE BUN AKHEOTSHOSHOH. DARIUS REX FORTIS HYSTASPIS FILIUS (?)

The inscription which refers to Xerxes can only be restored by a comparison of all the three species of writing, as it exhibits, for the most part, only fragments of isolated words. Upon comparing it with the inscription of Darius, above deciphered, and with Niebuhr's perfect copies, E. F. G. we find the contents to be:

XERXES REX FORTIS DARII REGIS FILIUS (?)

Somewhat more circumstantial than these are the inscriptions over the figures of the kings, placed on the doors in the interior of the buildings[5]: those relative to Darius, (Niebuhr, B.D. C.) are from the building marked G. (Nieb. tab. XXVI. in Heeren's ground-plan *s*;) those of Xerxes, on the other hand, (Nieb. G.F.E.) are

[5] See *Lettre de M. Silvestre de Sacy à M. Millin sur les inscriptions des monumens Persépolitains:* Extrait du Magasin Encyclopédique, année VIII. tome v. p. 438.

from the building marked I. (in Heeren's plan, *t*.) This circumstance confirms the opinion of Niebuhr, (vol. ii. p. 142: compare vol. i. p. 233, of this work,) who, from the interior form and architecture of these buildings, was led to assign them a different origin; at the same time, however, it shews that Niebuhr mistook the more ancient building to be a later erection[6]. The inscriptions over the windows prove that the edifice marked G, was intended for Darius, to whom also they themselves refer: only at the south-west angle of the building there is an upright stone, about twenty feet in height, presenting on its upper face the long inscription, (Le Bruyn, No. 131,) relative to Xerxes, the contents of which are almost the same with the one marked A, in Niebuhr, engraven on the front of the principal terrace of the esplanade. According to Le Bruyn, this stone was erected at a later epoch. There are no other inscriptions relating to Darius, besides the one marked H. I. K. L. in Niebuhr, which is found nearly in the middle of the southern wall of the building, on a stone twenty-six feet long by six in height. The other cuneiform inscriptions are scattered about in all directions over the ruins of Persepolis; a proof that the whole of these ancient buildings were erected by the two kings above mentioned; that Darius began them, and that Xerxes made considerable additions, with-

[6] Unless, indeed, as appears likely from the four words subjoined to the end of the inscriptions relating to Darius, we suppose this building to have been erected by Xerxes himself, in honour of his father.

out, however, completely finishing them; for, in the portions constructed by the latter prince, we still meet with stones bearing no inscription. M. de Murr (Journal, vol. iv. p. 125, sq.) has enumerated thirty-five Persepolitan inscriptions, reckoning some of them over again as many times as they are repeated, though they are all the same, and omitting on the other hand a number of others, of which we have no copies. Of the twelve inscriptions enumerated by him as occurring on the pilasters of the grand entrance, we possess no copies that are legible; their height from the ground rendering it difficult to distinguish them. Gemelli Carreri, who visited Persepolis about the end of the seventeenth century, alone pretends to have transcribed two lines, (Voyage, tom. ii. fig. I. p. 246,) the first of which corresponds with the former half of the twenty-first line in Nibuhr's A. and the second contains the isolated characters of an inscription which appears to have been the same as Niebuhr's G. Tavernier (*Relations de divers voyages curieux.* Paris, 1663,) had already given the same characters, and in the very same order. I consider the opinion of M. Tychsen rather too hazardous, when he affirms the grand palace, marked L. to have been erected by the Arsacides; though the ruins of Nakshi Rustam appear to belong in part only to the era of the Sassanides, as together with some inscriptions in the cuneiform character, they contain others in that of the Pehlvi dialect.

2. The language of the first species of Persepolitan writing is the Zend; the ancient existence of this dialect, first discovered by M. Duperron, being as little subject to be called in question as that of the Pehlvi or the Parsi, we may therefore consider the Zendavesta as a genuine religious code of the old Persians, by reference to which we are enabled to judge of their peculiar notions in matters of religion. Although the language of the deciphered inscriptions does not exactly correspond with that of the Zendavesta, if we may conclude from the forms and inflections published by Duperron, (for the Zend must necessarily have undergone considerable modifications during the time when it flourished,) yet the conformity in point of language discoverable upon comparing the inscriptions with the manuscripts of the Zendavesta, proves equally beyond a doubt, the ancient existence of the Zend, as the Sassanide inscriptions deciphered by M. de Sacy prove that the Pehlvi flourished some centuries later[7]. It is possible, indeed, that the Zend alphabet published by Duperron might have been in use even under the old Persian monarchy, and might just as possibly have been written from right to left, while the cunei-

[7] In a recent publication, breathing the very spirit of dogmatism and conceit, the writer coolly asks, "To what country and epoch does this pretended language belong? Has any ancient dialect ever borne the name of Zend? or is it not rather a corruption of the Sanscrit *Chhandas*, one of the most usual appellations of the Vedas?" As to the Zendavesta, our literary dictator supposes it to be a comparatively recent forgery by the Guebres or Parsees of Guzerat; an opinion indeed which others besides himself have entertained. See *Réflexions sur l'étude des Langues Asiatiques*, par A. W. de Schlegel, etc. Bonn. 1832, 8vo, pag. 69. TRANS.

form character was engraved in an opposite direction. For however beautiful and convenient the latter is for engraving on stones, it must have been equally tedious and troublesome for ordinary purposes. I am therefore decidedly of opinion that it was only employed for inscribing on public monuments, solemn deeds, seals, and amulets, as a kind of sacred and venerable writing, and do not think it improbable even, that its two elementary signs might originally have contained some mysterious meaning.

The direction of the characters would seem to be explained by the oriental custom of sitting cross-legged to write, in which position the order from right to left is the most natural, as it is the most convenient; while, on the other hand, in monumental inscriptions the eye loves to follow a contrary direction[8]. Such was the case in ancient Egypt, where the hieroglyphics were occasionally written from left to right, as I observe by a comparison of certain inscriptions resembling each other, and disposed in a square; whereas

[8] This distinction seems rather fanciful; it is not very easy to see why the direction from right to left should be considered the most natural, or even the most convenient, or why any connexion should be supposed to exist between the eye and the material on which the characters are traced. Few, perhaps, if any, who have seen the Arabic sentences so beautifully sculptured on the walls of Mohammedan mosques, complain of their eyes being annoyed by having to read them from right to left, or seem to have thought this circumstance any diminution to the beauty of the writing. Besides, there need be no question about posture in the case, for the Hebrews followed the same direction in writing as the Arabs, and yet there is nothing to shew that they wrote sitting cross-legged. In the abstract, indeed, either direction appears equally natural; or if there is any difference, it should be in favour of the European system from left to right; because, were the Asiatic method the most natural, how came the European ever to be adopted? TRANS.

the ordinary mode of writing evidently proceeded from right to left. Admitting the cuneiform writing, like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, to have been a sacred writing, only employed on public monuments and amulets, etc.; it must of course have declined in estimation with the fall of the Persian empire, and gradually have come into disuse. Perhaps however it might have been still known in the time of the Sassanide dynasty, as the inscriptions at Nakshi-Rustam are copied from those at Chihel-Minar. But that it was understood as late as the fourth century of the Hegira, which is the opinion of M. de Sacy in his explanation of the cufic inscriptions at Persepolis, is utterly groundless and improbable.

3. The inscriptions of Persepolis that have been deciphered, speak of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, as grandfather, father, and son; but they never attribute the title of king to the first, while the two others are represented as kings even on the monuments of Egypt; and it is in this latter quality that the sign manual of Darius appears on two Babylonian documents hitherto unpublished. Here then we meet with a full confirmation of the history of the Persian kings, as preserved to us by the Greeks: a history which is as little liable to be affected by the monstrous traditions of the modern Persians, as by the unconnected narratives of the sacred writers, and which, notwithstanding the corruptions it may have undergone, bears nevertheless so many marks of intrinsic credibility, that I cannot but consider its agreement with the inscriptions as

one of the strongest proofs of the correctness of my interpretation. The very manner in which Darius is said to have come to the throne, is altogether in the true spirit of the Persian religion; agreeably to which, the sun, as representing the visible apparition of the divinity, could only communicate an oracular response by the neighing of his sacred animal the horse, at the moment of his own appearance above the horizon. The history of a foreign people, written by contemporaries, naturally deserves more credit than that which the natives themselves have composed several centuries after the events recorded. An attempt, therefore, to illustrate the ancient history of Persia from modern Persian sources, would be just as futile as to study the ancient history of our own country in the chronicles of the middle ages. The expectations which were conceived by learned men of being able to form new conclusions respecting the ancient history of Persia by means of the cuneiform writings, have not yet indeed been realised; but that person would betray no small want of taste for true learning, who should regard all the attempts hitherto made in deciphering these inscriptions as abortive, the study itself as useless, and its consequences as unimportant! Because, when once the true method of interpreting the character has been pointed out, to what important results may not a scrupulous collation of the inscriptions already known, as well the discovery of others of the same kind, lead us, and particularly the documents and inscriptions at

Hamadan and Bissutun, together with those found on the canal of Suez, or in the desert between Aleppo and Bassora. Besides, in those ancient monuments, which have been supposed to contain profound mysteries, or interesting information on curious subjects, or remarkable events, every step towards positive certainty, and even the very conviction that we shall be disappointed in our search is a positive gain, which none but a frigid compiler can affect to deny, to whom every additional acquisition made in the knowledge of history is of much more consequence than the limitation of his materials for constructing hypotheses.

Postscript by Prof. Heeren.

M. Grotefend, in the preceding essay, has so expressly declared that his object was merely to decipher, and not to explain the inscriptions, that it would be superfluous to call the reader's attention to this point, were it not for the extreme partiality with which his labours have been reviewed by some of our critics. Whoever reflects on the scanty knowledge we have of the Zend, confined as that is to a meagre list of two or three hundred words, furnished by Anquetil Duperron, will rather be surprised that so much should have been effected, than complain of so little. Up to the present time no person has succeeded in refuting M. Grotefend's method of explanation; for dogmatic assertions prove nothing to the contrary, even when emitted by

oriental scholars, who being unacquainted with the Persian, cannot possibly be considered judges of the question, the Zend having just as little connexion with the Semitic dialects, as the German has with the Turkish. In England, on the other hand, his method has been generally recognized as correct. It is no business of mine to undertake the defence of M. Grotefend; he has already done it himself to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced mind. Whithin these few years, however, a decided adversary to his system presented himself in the person of the late M. Saint-Martin, who read before the Asiatic society of Paris a memoir relative to the ancient inscriptions of Persepolis, an extract from which is given in the *Journal Asiatique* for February, 1823. But if I may be allowed to judge from a perusal of this extract, M. Grotefend has every reason to congratulate himself in meeting with such an opponent, who, so far from confuting his interpretations, actually appears to confirm them in their essential points. What Saint-Martin finds fault with in Grotefend, is confined chiefly to his method of deciphering certain characters, (which the critic asserts to have been too arbitrary,) and to his explanation of a few words. In other respects, Saint-Martin himself adopts the whole system of M. Grotefend; allows him the credit of having first correctly read the names of the kings, which furnished a clue to the rest of the alphabet; and in his explanations, a few points of secondary importance excepted,

comes to precisely the same conclusions as the German scholar. According to M. Saint-Martin, the inscription relating to Xerxes reads thus: "*Xerxes the powerful king, king of kings, son of king Darius, of an illustrious race.*" According to Grotefend, (see Vol. I. p. 253,) "*Xerxes the valiant king, king of kings, son of Darius the king, successor of the sovereign of the world.*" The inscription on Darius, as translated by the first-mentioned scholar, is "*Darius the powerful king, king of kings, king of the gods, son of Vyshtasp, of an illustrious and very excellent race.*" By Grotefend, "*Darius the valiant king, king of kings, king of the people, son of Hystaspes, successor of the sovereign of the world.*" Such being the general agreement of these two scholars in their respective modes of interpretation, we may, I think, safely leave them to settle their other differences together in an amicable manner, without any apprehension that the system adopted by M. Grotefend will eventually turn out to be false, or that any other scholar will venture to contest with him the merit of discovery. Being desirous of enabling the reader not merely to form an opinion of this branch of study, but even to prosecute it himself should he feel curious to do so, I have accordingly subjoined to the end of this volume a copper plate, Tab. I. in which, with the assistance of M. Grotefend's treatises, I have laid down the whole apparatus necessary for reading the cuneiform inscriptions of the first species, written in the

Zend language, and found on the ruins of Persepolis, which up to the present time have been deciphered by the above scholar only. In this table then we observe,

1. The deciphered Zend alphabet, not however in grammatical but in chronological order, so that the student may proceed from the most simple to the most complicated method of arranging the wedge-letters, and subsequently to the composition of the angular with the wedge-form. It is evident this order must throw some light on the origin and development of the alphabet itself.

2. Opposite to each character of the Zend is placed the corresponding one in Latin and Persian. But as the latter possesses no marks to denote the vowels, they are only represented in the Latin. The last sign is an abbreviation of the royal title *Khshéhióh,* (Pers. *Shah.*) *Rex.* composed of the initial and final characters of the word.

3. By the side of the alphabet descends a column entitled *sphalmata,* which contains the mistakes of the transcriber[1]. In the course of deciphering the alphabet itself, as well as upon comparing the several copies made by Niebuhr, Le Bruyn, Chardin, and others, M. Grotefend was led to notice the occurrence of numerous errors, rendered almost inevitable by the state of the inscriptions, and the peculiar circumstances under which they were copied. It was altogether

[1] The letters N and B stand for Niebuhr and Le Bruyn.

necessary to point out these mistakes, otherwise the reader would have been stopped by the frequent recurrence of characters not to be found in the alphabet. They are therefore so arranged in the table, that by the side of each letter he will also observe the corresponding erroneous form.

4. Although the preceding directions might seem sufficient for enabling the reader to commence the study of deciphering, I have judged it convenient to add also a specimen of reading, in order to remove the serious difficulties he would still have to encounter; this specimen I have taken from M. de Sacy's *Lettre à M. Millin sur les inscriptions des Monumens Persepolitains;* and together with the alphabet, and the rest of the apparatus has been copied with the most scrupulous fidelity, Professor Tychsen having had the goodness to undertake the trouble of revising the plate.

5. M. Grotefend had also enriched the third edition of this work with another plate, (Tab. II.) containing the above-mentioned specimen in all the three kinds of writing, together with the cuneiform inscription on the urn of Count Caylus, which is the same as the former, word for word. His object in making this addition was partly to explain what he had previously remarked of the character of cuneiform inscriptions in general, and of the three Persepolitan species in particular; and partly also to shew that these three species of writing read from left

to right, correspond verbally with each other; and that each of them is composed of letters, of which several go to make up a single word, with the exception of the royal title, which is represented by a monogram, either with or without inflection. From the same plate also, we learn the peculiar method by which M. Grotefend, notwithstanding the absence of any division between the words of the second and third species of writing, succeeded, nevertheless, in effecting their separation; and before he had actually deciphered any part of them, put himself into a way of translating a considerable number of detached words, with the assistance of the first species, and also of discovering the ὕστερον πρώτερον, already referred to, as committed by Le Bruyn, (No. 133,) in confounding together the fragments of two different inscriptions.

It must, however, be confessed, that, notwithstanding the progress hitherto made in deciphering and explaining the cuneiform inscriptions, we have as yet scarcely passed the threshold of the science, for want of other aids than we now possess, towards understanding the ancient Persian dialects, and particularly the Zend; nevertheless the attempts made by learned scholars, up to the present day, are quite sufficient to interest the attention of every friend of antiquity in their favour. Independently of the new conclusions they promise to supply with respect to the ancient history of Persia, they serve also to

make us better acquainted with one of the most important of all human inventions next to language, I mean the art of literal writing. And if they do not throw a full blaze of light on the art itself, and the place where it originated, they at least supply us with a feeble ray to guide our researches into these distant regions, which indeed is all that we have reason to expect.

The cuneiform writing is so simple in its character that it evidently bears all the marks of an original invention. It only consists of two signs, the wedge and the angle, and it is impossible to construct a literal writing with a fewer number of elements. This is the reason why a single letter is often composed of more wedges or angles than at first sight would be thought necessary; which is the more remarkable, because, from the total absence of curved lines, it would be impossible to connect the signs together without considerable difficulty. At the same time it is equally clear, from the very nature of this kind of writing, that it could not have proceeded from hieroglyphics, as the latter from their first origin necessarily retain a character of variety, which an alphabet derived from them (admitting such to have been the case) would scarcely fail to betray: and even if we regard the two elementary signs above mentioned, as hieroglyphical, that is, for example, supposing them to represent the idea of two sexes, yet the writing itself still remains essentially distinct from that of hieroglyphics. That it is neither a syllabic

writing has already been proved by M. Grotefend; and, in fact, it is not very easy to see how its elementary characters could be composed of syllables. What other supposition, therefore, can we entertain, than that the writing in question was originally formed of letters only, allowing even that it was developed slowly, and by degrees? It is, however, true, particularly with respect to the first species of cuneiform writing, that it appears in a remarkable manner to betray all the characteristics of an infant state of the art, in the quantity, or rather the superabundance of letters in certain words. Does not this peculiarity evince an anxious effort on the part of the inventor to leave no sound, however insignificant, or even aspiration, without its appropriate symbol? or, in other words, does not this writing bear all the marks of having been carefully written in conformity with the spoken language? In the second and third species, the fact just mentioned is much less frequently observable; a circumstance which might lead us to infer, though they contain more complicated specimens of particular characters, that they are less ancient than the former.

As to the question, in what country this writing was invented, we may answer without hesitation, that it is of Asiatic origin. It differs to such a degree from the Egyptian writing, not merely that of hieroglyphics, but also the literal, as existing on the Rosetta stone, that they scarcely deserve a moment's comparison. The dis-

coveries made at Persepolis and at Babylon, prove further, that its use extended over a considerable portion of Upper Asia, and that being divided into several alphabets, (of which the three kinds found on the ruins of Persepolis are again distinguished from those engraven on the Babylonian bricks,) it was adopted by several different nations, the original elementary signs being variously modified in constructing the new alphabet. It appears certain, that the invention of cuneiform writing was long anterior to the Persian monarchy, from the circumstance of its being engraven at this early epoch, under three forms, on the buildings of Persepolis; but to determine the precise spot where it was first brought into use, is not so easy. As there can be no doubt, however, that the first Persepolitan species, which is also the most simple, was employed for writing the Zend language, we might with great probability assume its original country to have been Media, where the Zend, and with it the doctrines of Zoroaster once flourished. But when, on the other hand, we find in the ruins of Babylon bricks and tablets, themselves of very remote antiquity, covered all over with cuneiform inscriptions, we feel equally disposed to attribute to them an Aramæan origin. The latter hypothesis derives great confirmation from the fact, that in all probability the writing which the Greeks and Persians termed Assyrian, was no other than the cuneiform. I am particularly led to this con-

clusion by a passage in Herodotus, (iv. 87,) where he speaks of the two columns on which Darius, after crossing the Bosphorus in his Scythian expedition, caused the names of the different nations composing his army to be engraven, on one in Greek, and on the other in Assyrian characters; the latter of which columns, the historian himself saw in the temple of Bacchus at Byzantium. Now the cuneiform character being in general use among the Persians for inscribing on public monuments, is it likely that Darius would have employed any other in the case just alluded to? There is no sort of occasion to suppose that the Babylonian or Assyrian writing was of Aramæan origin, under the idea that it was brought to Babylon by the Chaldæans, at the epoch of their power, because it has been already shewn, in another part of this volume, that the Chaldæans were a branch of the great Persico-Median tribe.

APPENDIX III.

On Pasargadæ and the Tomb of Cyrus; by G. F. Grotefend.

THE Essay contained in the preceding Appendix had already been printed off, when, during an accidental stay at Göttingen, I received from M. d'Olenin, director of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, through the medium of Prof. Rommel, a cuneiform inscription in all the three forms of the Persepolitan character, which had been copied from a pillar in the neighbourhood of a village called Murghâb, distant about fifty-two miles from Persepolis, by Sir Gore Ousely, the British envoy at the court of Persia. Upon comparing it with the Persepolitan inscriptions already deciphered by me, I found that it consisted of four words in the three known species of writing, the first of which formed the beginning of Niebuhr's I. and K. Judging by analogy from the inscriptions of Persepolis, the second word should represent a certain name, which in the third and fourth is followed by the titles of "king" and "sovereign" respectively. In

the first specimen of writing, this name consists of six characters, which, according to my alphabetical table, and presuming Sir Gore Ousely's copy to be correct, furnish us with the word "*Zushudsh.*" But the uppermost wedge representing the letter *d* is made so long, that we might suppose it to have been drawn over three perpendicular wedges instead of two, which would in that case give us *â* or *ê*, the first letter of the Zend alphabet[1]. It is true I have in my table explained the first and third signs by *z* and *sch* respectively, because I conceived them to be synonymous with certain other characters of similar import; but a more scrupulous examination has convinced me that they are different, as it is only in particular words that they occur without variation; the first sign in the forms "*ezutshush,*" "*ezutsheo,*" and the other in those of "*pshutsheo,*" "*pshueotshetshao.*". I have no hesitation therefore in considering the first to represent a *k*, and the second the double consonant *sr*; the whole inscription then may be interpreted in the following manner:

EDO. KUSRUESH. KHSHEHIOH. AKHEOTSHOSHOH.

Dominus. Cyrus. Rex. Orbis terrarum rector.

What leads me to infer that the inscription contains the name of Cyrus, is the circumstance of its being expressed in the two other specimens of writing by no more than three signs, which could hardly stand for a name of greater length

[1] A later copy of the inscription made by Sir Robert Ker Porter, shews that the above character does not exist in the original.

than the one in question[2]. The reason why this name in both the other kinds of writing presents no sign common to those of Hystaspes, Darius, or Xerxes, is because the original appellatives of the kings of Persia sounded differently in different languages; a circumstance which, in addition to the titles of "king" and "sovereign" being designated by a monogram, has prevented my deciphering the other specimens.

The occurrence of the name of Cyrus in the above inscription necessarily excited my curiosity to know whether the ruins of Murghâb had ever been the residence of that monarch. Upon this, M. Blumenbach, with that kindness which always distinguishes him, was so good as to lend me a copy of Morier's Travels, in the French translation of 1813, in which I was not a little surprised to find the very inscription itself, and the ruins of Murghâb described in such a manner as to make me unite with Morier, in believing them to be the identical remains of Pasargada. And as the further I examined the subject only served to confirm me in my opinion, though Pasargadæ had hitherto been sought for in quite an opposite direction from Persepolis, I willingly complied with the request of Prof. Heeren, to explain my reasons for this conjecture in a separate treatise[3].

[2] M. Saint-Martin reads *Huschusch*, which he considers to be synonymous with *Ochus*. How far this supposition is admissible will be shewn in the sequel.

[3] A particular defence of my hypothesis, in opposition to the attacks of M. M. Hœck and Hammer, is inserted in the *Hallische Allgem. Litt. Zeitung*, No. 140, for June, 1820.

The name of Pasargada occurs only in Ptolemy and Solimus (cap. 55.) All the other writers, with the exception of Q. Curtius, who in one place (v. vi. 10) has "Persagadum" (i. e. Persagadarum) "urbs," and in another (x. 1, 22) "Persagadæ," uniformly call it by the name of "Pasargadæ," or "Passargadæ;" which latter appellation deserves the preference, as we generally find it attributed to the Persian tribe surnamed from this place. The method of spelling it Pasagarda adopted in modern maps, is founded solely on the untenable supposition, that its site was on the present Fasa, near a river of the same name. It is far more probable that the term Pessargadeh, signifying "the abode of princes," has been corrupted into that of Persepolis by a very common transposition of the letter *r*, because Stephanus of Byzantium explains Passargadæ by "Persian camp," just as Kyreshata (Koreshgadeh) has been converted into Cyropolis. We must confess, however, notwithstanding the similarity of name, that Pasargadæ, where the tomb of Cyrus was, is altogether distinct from the Persepolis, (i. e. Persarum urbs, called by Arrian simply Πέρσαι, the *Pârs* of the cuneiform inscriptions,) which was burnt by Alexander. At the same time, we are not to look for it at such a distance from Persepolis as the ruins of Fasa, or in so perverted a direction as to suppose the modern Shiraz, merely on account of the resemblance between Cyr and Chyâs, as written by the French, to have been the ancient capital of Cyrus.

The Greeks first became acquainted with Per-

sepolis and Pasargadæ in consequence of Alexander's expedition. According to the unanimous accounts of all writers, the Macedonian conqueror in his progress towards the east, arrived first at Persepolis, and afterwards at Pasargadæ, so that the possession of the former immediately led to the capture of the latter. Upon this is founded the statement of Pliny, (Hist. Nat. vi. 26, compare Solinus cap. 55,) and also of Strabo, that Pasargadæ was situated at the eastern extremity of Persis. A still more decisive passage is that of Strabo (xv. p. 1060, or 729), where he says, that in the country of Pasargadæ, the river Cyrus, a name altered from the original one of Agradates by Cyrus himself, flowed through Hollow Persis, so called. The latter appellation evidently denotes the valley extending from Persepolis to Murghâb, along the banks of the Rud-koneh-siwond, which is also termed by oriental writers the Abkhuren or Kervan. We must not however look for Pasargadæ in a direction due east from Persepolis, because the eastern part of the plain in which the latter is situated abuts upon the marble mountain of Rachmed, where, according to Diodorus (xvii. 70,) the tombs of the Persian kings were to be found; while a similar chain of marble rocks form the boundary of the plain towards the north. But in the neighbourhood of the ruins of Istakhar, and along the banks of the above river Kervan, which flows between Nakshi-Rustain and Chihel-Minar into the Bend-Emir or Araxes, we find a valley,

(represented in Morier's chart, further to the east; in that of Kinneir, on the contrary[4], more to the east,) which runs in a north-easterly direction, parallel to the road from Shiraz to Ispahan. The same road conducts us over two mountain-chains to the ruins from which the inscription before alluded to was copied; after passing these mountains, which, on account of the snow, is only practicable in summer, we arrive by another route at the "valley of Heroes," the favourite hunting-place of the ancient kings of Persia, and where Bahram-Gur, who is said to have derived his surname from the wild asses of this country (*Gur* or *Khor*), had seven palaces all of different colours. As early as the year 1471, these ruins had been visited by Josaphat Barbaro, the Venetian envoy; Morier, however, is the only traveller who has examined them with attention. Kinneir, who has made us acquainted with several routes leading through this valley, observes, in his Geographical Memoir, that "he saw nothing remarkable along the above road, except a singular edifice in the neighbourhood of Murghâb, called Takhti-Suleiman, which was in a superior style of architecture, and, to judge from an inscription[5], on one of the pillars of a portico, seemed to be contemporary with the buildings of Persepolis. This pillar, which is round, is about forty feet high and eight in circumference. A hill in the vicinity bears evident

[4] In his *Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, London, 1813, 4to.

[5] This is the one copied by Sir Gore Ousely.

traces of having been once fortified; and about a mile further to the west, is an ancient structure, said to have been erected to the memory of a certain sultan Suleiman." From the circumstantial description and drawings furnished by Morier, we learn that the very edifice in question is the tomb of Cyrus, and that the surrounding ruins are no other than those of ancient Pasargadæ.

The writers from whom the Greeks, and subsequently the Romans, derived their first knowledge of this country, were Onesicritus, Nearchus, and Aristobulus, the contemporaries of Alexander the Great. Of these, Onesicritus appears to have mixed up a good deal of what is fabulous in his accounts; the second has led both Ptolemy and Pliny into the error of confounding the rivers of the coast, which empty themselves into the Persian gulf, with those of the interior, to which latter, according to Kinneir's Geography, (p. 59,) the Cyrus of Pasargadæ and the Araxes of Persepolis belong.

The only writers likely to be of service in determining the locality of Pasargadæ, are those who have borrowed their accounts from Aristobulus, the principal of whom are Arrian and Strabo. According to the last mentioned author, (compare also Diodorus I. p. 43; Ælian. Hist. Anim. I. 59,) Pasargadæ was built by Cyrus to commemorate the victory which secured to the Persians their dominion over the Medes; and Morier informs us, that the mountainous defile lead-

ing from this country into Media, considered in a military point of view, presents very favourable advantages for obstructing the march of an enemy. For that reason Cyrus made Parsagardæ the principal seat of empire, of his treasures, and, as Plutarch writes, the place of coronation for the Persian kings, where the newly-elected monarch, in order to his solemn inauguration at the hands of the Magi, was obliged, in addition to many other ceremonies, to put on, in the *temple* of the *goddess of war*, the robe formerly worn by Cyrus before he came to the throne. Here also did that monarch erect his own tomb, which by its peculiar form of architecture, was distinguished as much from the tombs of his successors, as it was from all others. The burying places of the Persian kings and the satraps were in general lofty edifices, into which the coffins were wound up by means of machinery, and afterwards placed in shrines; the tomb of Darius Hystaspis, however, according to Ctesias, (Pers. cap. 15,) was hewn out of a rocky mountain; that of Cyrus, on the contrary, is reported by Arrian (vi. 29,) and Strabo (p. 730, or 1041,) on the authority of Aristobulus, to have been built of square stones in the midst of a delightful paradise. Making every proper allowance for the great alterations which must necessarily have taken place in this ancient monument since it was pillaged in the time of Alexander, it is worth while to examine the following circumstantial description of it furnished us by Arrian. "It

was in the royal paradise at Pasargadæ," says this writer, "that the tomb of Cyrus was erected, on a foundation of square blocks of stone, above which was raised a building also of stone, with a roof, and having a doorway so extremely narrow, that it was difficult for a small-sized man, and altogether impossible for a large one, to enter. Within the building stood a golden sarcophagus, which contained the body of Cyrus; near this was a kind of throne, the feet of which were carved in gold; and underneath the sarcophagus were carpets of Babylonian manufacture, while over it were spread rich vestments and coloured stuffs in the Median and Babylonian taste, together with collars, scimitars, earrings of gold, and precious stones. In the neighbourhood was built a small habitation for the Magi, to whom was committed, in hereditary succession, the guardianship of the tomb. According to Aristobulus, the tomb of Cyrus is reported to have borne the following inscription, written in the Persian character and language. "O man, I am Cyrus (the son of Cambyses,) who laboured to give empire to the Persians, and who reigned over Asia. Therefore, envy me not the possession of a monument." Onesicritus and Aristus of Salamis, give this inscription in a more concise form, as in the following hexameter:—*Ἔνθαδ' ἐγὼ κεῖμαι Κῦρος βασιλεὺς βασιλήων.* Although it is not likely that the Greek verse, as pretended by some, should have been engraven in Persian characters alongside of the other inscription, yet

it certainly corresponds better with the spirit of the Persepolitan inscriptions, than that mentioned by Athenæus, (Diepnos. X. 9. p. 434.) *Ἡδυνάμην καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολὺν καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλῶς.* The latter betrays the same fictitious character, as that of Sardanapalus in Cilicia, or as the inscription represented to have been engraved on the tomb of Darius. *Φίλος ἦν τοῖς φίλοις· ἱππεὺς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην· κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν· πάντα ποιεῖν ἠδυνάμην.*

The town of Pasargadæ was destroyed by Alexander, (Arrian iii. 18,) but the tomb of Cyrus still remains uninjured, though no longer exhibiting the sumptuous ornament described by Aristobulus, or the same appearance it did when restored by Alexander after the pillage of its treasures. The building is situate at no great distance from the mosque, as it is called, of Solomon's mother, (*Mesjidi-Madari-Suleiman,*) and on account of the peculiarity of its structure is named the "devil's court;" it still subsists entire, just as described by Arrian, and a representation of it may be seen in Morier's Travels, pl. 18. It consists of a stone apartment raised upon a foundation of large blocks of marble in several layers, which are so disposed, that each upper one, in succession, comprehends a less extent of surface, and consequently the whole foundation or base of the structure has a pyramidal form. The general outline is that of a parallelogram, the lowest course of masonry being upwards of 43 feet long, and 37 in breadth.

The apartment above measures 20 feet, by 10 feet 5 inches, and the roof terminates in a sharp angle just like our houses. The whole is constructed of one kind of marble, and the blocks are held together by cramps of iron. One of the blocks composing the base is 14 feet 8 inches long, five feet high, and eight feet six inches broad. In the interior of this marble edifice, by peeping through a chink in the door, (for the key is in the hands of a woman, who permits no body but those of her own sex to enter,) we observe a small chamber blackened with smoke, the door itself is so narrow, that to effect an entrance would be attended with no small difficulty. The guardians of the key declare that nothing is to be found in the inside except a large stone, which probably supported the sarcophagus of Cyrus.

Although there is not the slightest resemblance between this ancient monument and the tombs of the Mohammedan saints, the common people nevertheless imagine it to be the burial place of the mother of Solomon, a name with which they connect all sorts of miraculous legends. In the vicinity is shewn a spring of water, a draught of which is said to cure the bite of a mad dog, and prevent all dangerous consequences arising therefrom. All around the edifice is strewn a vast quantity of blocks of marble, and fourteen shafts of pillars, which appear to have once formed a colonnade; at present, however, they are half buried under a

mound of earth, which encloses the whole of these ruins. The paradise in which the tomb of Cyrus was formerly situated, is now a cemetery, filled with gravestones of modern date. The building itself is covered on all sides with inscriptions, written by persons who have been led to undertake a journey thither, from motives of superstitious veneration; among which Josaphat Barbaro read the words *Madari Suleiman*, in the Arabic character. Morier, however, nowhere discovered any traces of ancient Persian writing, inscribed on the walls; though at no great distance, near the above-mentioned mosque of Solomon's mother, he found three pilasters so inscribed, and which appeared to be the ruins of some hall or other, adorned in the inside with columns. From one of these pillars was copied an inscription, which resembles that taken by Sir Gore Ousely, though it is not so well executed[7]. At a distance of a hundred and sixty feet, we meet with similar ruins, and similar inscriptions, while the whole plain is covered with fragments of marble, which Morier considered to be the ruins of some large city. There can scarcely indeed be any doubt that it was Pasargadæ; for every particular, even the most minute, recorded of this capital of Cyrus, is perfectly applicable to the situation before us. To the left of the above-mentioned pilasters are the ruins of a fire-temple, which, in its dimensions, style of architecture, and ornament, altogether

[7] See pl. II. at the end of this volume.

resembles Nakshi-Rustam; and about a thousand feet more to the east, is a hill on which are the remains of a fort, constructed of marble blocks, as large as those found in the buildings of the plain. This marble is white, and polished in the most exquisite manner. The village of Murghâb, situated about ten miles from the fort, contains several fine springs, which water the whole plain, and derives its appellation (of Murgh-âb, i. e. Bird-water) from the very singular property ascribed to the water of one of these springs, which is said to attract certain red and black coloured birds, which, like starlings, follow the course of the stream in large flocks, screaming incessantly all the time, and are very useful to the inhabitants, in exterminating the immense swarms of locusts which infest the country. What is more extraordinary, if bottles be filled with this water and exposed, uncorked, in the open air, the birds are equally attracted to them by some unknown charm; and it is incredible with what quickness and voracity they despatch all the locusts they find on their passage. Villamont also, (Livre ii. p. 39, 40,) alludes to properties something similar belonging to the water and birds of the island of Cyprus; and says, that the Persians and Turks dignify these birds with the appellation of Mohammedans. According to other authorities, they are called Abmelekh, or locust-eaters, and the water, Abi-murghân. Chardin (Voyage en Perse, édition de Langlès, tom. iii. p. 390,) makes

this water spring from a source in Bactriana; but Father Angelus à St. Joseph, (Ange de la Brosse,) a Carmelite friar, who travelled in the east as a missionary, and wrote a book, entitled "Gazophylacium Linguæ Persarum," (Fol. Amstelod. 1684,) places the source of the Birdwater in the district of Lâdjân, (the Laodicea of Pliny,) between Shirâz and Ispahân; while Villamont, whose Travels Chardin himself is in the habit of quoting, says, it is in the neighbourhood of the Persian town of Cuerch, by which it seems likely he meant Khoneh-Kérgab, situate about nine miles from Murghâb.

We must beware of confounding two different edifices, both named from Solomon's mother, a mistake which Chardin, nevertheless, has committed. Almost all the travellers who have visited Shirâz, mention a building so called, and which Chardin, (Voyage en Perse, tom. viii. p. 432,) has described and illustrated with the most complete drawings; this building, however, is in the plain of Shubsâr, scarcely more than five miles from Shirâz. Kæmpfer indeed, (Amæn. Exot. Fasc. II. Relat. vi. p. 357,) speaks of a place called Abi-murghân, from the springs it contained; but then the marble ruins of a building which he calls the temple of Solomon's mother, (p. 354,) are in fact the three porticos to be found at Shubasâr, built of the same kind of marble, and furnished with the same figures and ornaments so generally prevailing at Chihel-Minâr. Besides, there are several ancient struc-

tures in Persia, bearing a similar appellation; thus, among others, we meet with a Takhti-Suleiman on the high road from Cocan to Cashgar, about nine hours' distance beyond Murghelan; so also the river Margus of the ancients, which flows through the province of Margiana, and rises in the mountains near Gur, bears the name of Murghâb. It is not improbable that Chardin confounded this river with the Birdwater, in the neighbourhood of Pasargadæ, just as, in the passage already alluded to, he has confounded Josaphat Barbaro's tomb of Solomon's mother, (according to Bizari, Rerum Persicarum Historia, Frankf. 1601, p. 325,) with his own three porticos of the same name at Shubasâr.

APPENDIX IV.

On the Indian Words occurring in Ctesias; by Professor Tychsen.

It was long ago asserted by Reland, that the remains of the Indian language, preserved by Ctesias in his *Indica*, might to a certain extent be interpreted with the help of the Persian, and accordingly that scholar himself first made the attempt[1]. His explanations, however, seeming neither complete or altogether satisfactory, I have myself undertaken to comment on the Indian glosses of Ctesias without any reference to the explanations of Reland; and will now therefore proceed to submit the result of my study to the learned reader[2]. In order to facilitate the comparison of our respective essays, I shall also subjoin the interpretation proposed by Reland. The particular words we have severally endeavoured to explain, are the following, arranged according to the order of the paragraphs, in the *Excerpta* of Ctesias:

[1] *Reland. Diss. Miscellan.* Pars I. Diss. vi.

[2] An extract from this Essay will be found in the *Gott. Gel. Anzeig.* for 1796, p. 1997, sq.

1. Ctesias (§. 2,) speaks of a stone, called *pantarba,* (περὶ παντάρβας τῆς σφραγῖδος,) which had the property of attracting precious stones when thrown into the water: he has not, however, supplied any explanation of the word itself, and therefore it is not very easy from his description of the stone to determine what Persian word it corresponds with. *Pandâr,* (پندار) means *firm, stable.* If the letter *s* is the sign of the Greek genitive, we might explain the last member of the word in question by پاي *pây,* i. e. *running water;* the whole would then signify, *firm in running water;* or perhaps the word may be interpreted by بند در پاي *Bend der pây,* i. e. Band or attraction in the water. These comparisons, however, are too artificial to lay much stress upon; and Reland has omitted to notice this word altogether.

2. The name of the parrot, *βίττακος* (Ctesias, §. 3,) is compared by Reland, (*De Ophir,* p. 184,) with the Persian تدك, *tedek,* which is the modern appellation of the bird. From this might come *τέδακος, τίδακος, σίτακος,* and finally, *ψίττακος*; it is just possible that Ctesias may have written it with ب instead of ت as *βίττακος.*— All this, however, it must be allowed is mere conjecture; though I have nothing better to substitute in its place.

3. The name of *martichora,* (Ctesias, §. 7,) applied to a fabulous animal, having the body of a

lion, the face of a man, with the tail of a scorpion, may be very satisfactorily explained from the Persian. According to Ctesias, μαρτίχορα means in Greek, ἀνθρωποφάγος, the maneater; this is neither more nor less than the Persian مردِ خور from مرد *mard*, man, and خوردن *khorden*, to eat. *Khor*, the eater, is an abreviated form of the participle *khordeh*, which is still in use. The Persians usually style an intrepid warrior *mardam-khor*, the eater of men, which is the same expression at bottom. *Mardam*, however, at present is the general form, *mard* being for the most part employed in a more elevated sense to denote a hero or warrior.

In the above comparison we have considered the final α to be merely the Greek termination: if on the other hand it be viewed as a component part of the Persian word, we have only to substitute the participial form, مردخورا *mardikhorâ*, (abbreviated from مردخوران *mardikhorân*,) as Reland has already done (p. 223), and we obtain precisely the same signification.

4. The Greek term for *griffin*, γρὺψ, (Ctesias, §. 12,) seems to be of Persian origin; at all events it may easily be derived from that language. For example, گرفتن *giriften*, means to gripe or seize: upon cutting off the termination we have گرف *girif*. which in sound as well as meaning, corresponds well enough with the word γρὺψ. The modern appellation for

griffin in Persian, is *Si-murgh*, (i. e. thirty birds,) or *Si-reng* (i. e. thirty colours,) equivalent to "great," or "variegated." The two last names are obviously nothing more than epithets.

5. The bird δίκαιρος is reported to be synonymous with δίκαιος, *just*, (Ctesias, §. 17.) I can compare this word with no other than the Persian دي *di*, good, the good principle, and كار *kar*, doing, a participle of the verb كردن *kerden*; the whole then means benefactor, and might possibly allude to the supposed custom of this bird's taking care to bury its own excrement, which is said to possess very deadly properties. Reland supposes the word to be altogether of Indian derivation, and he may be perfectly right in his conjecture; but the Persian دیلمك *dilmek*, which he compares with δίκαιρος, (p. 221,) is too far-fetched, and and moreover signifies a venomous spider.

6. The tree called πάρηβον, (Ctesias, §. 18,) in Apollonius πάρυβος, the wood of which is said to have the quality of attracting any substance, may be compared with the Persian بار, *bâr*, weight, burden, and آور *âver*, bearing, drawing, the participle of آوردن, *âverden*. *Bâr-âver* would then signify *drawing a weight*. This comparison however is too defective; we are not told the meaning of πάρηβος, and the sound is very different from that of the Persian term. Reland has forgotten to notice this word.

7. In India, says Ctesias, (§. 19,) there is a

river called ὕπαρχος, which means φέρων πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, i. e. "*producing all good things.*" To explain this word I adduce the Persian آور *âver*, bringing, carrying, from the verb اوردن *âverden*; and خوش *khosh*, good; consequently *âver-khosh*, bringing good, which corresponds exactly with the signification pointed out by Ctesias. The word should properly have been written ἄβαρχος or ὕβαρχος in order to represent the Persian; but it is well known that the Greeks, who were seldom able to appreciate foreign sounds with correctness, generally expressed them according to Greek etymology, or a fancied resemblance to certain words in their own language; as, for instance, in the case of Ἱεροσολυμα for Jerusalem, Ἱεραμαξ for Jarmuch. We might also compare برخوش, *berkhosh*, good, so that the initial letter ὕπαρχος would be merely euphonic, but then, the participle φέρων would not be expressed. Reland (p. 46,) compares it with اوبرخ *av-perkh*, from *âv* water, and *perch* utility, convenience; the whole expression thus amounting to *aqua utilissima.*

8. In the same passage with the above, Ctesias also speaks of an Indian tree called σιπταχόρα, from which *electrum*, probably some odoriferous gum distilled, and which likewise produced a kind of fruit something like a grape. *Siptachora* is represented to signify γλυκὺ, ἥδυ, sweet, agreeable. We may compare this with the Persian

شیفته خور, *shifteh-khor*, that is, "agreeable to eat," which applies very well to the signification alluded to. *Shifteh* from *shiften*, "to be in love," properly means "amorous," but is also attributed to any object that inspires affection, and thus comes to signify "agreeable." In the same manner the Persians call an apricot شیفته رنگ *Shifteh reng*, literally "agreeable colour." The other part of the word خورد or خور *khôrd* or *khor* means "eating," "food." Reland (p. 229,) follows the reading in Höschel's edition of Photius, viz. σιπαχορα, and derives the word from صفا *safa*, "pleasing," "delightful," and خوردن *khôrden* to eat. *Safa* however comes from the Arabic, a language we dare not have recourse to for explaining the Persian words of the age of Ctesias. But the correctness of the former reading, even with the τ, is confirmed by a passage in Pliny, (Hist. Nat. 37. 2,) where the word occurs, though in a disfigured shape; he says "arbores eas Aphytacoras vocari." It is otherwise not a a little surprising, that Reland preferred the reading of σιπαχόρα, because forsooth it came nearer to his proposed Persian etymology, as if the convenience of the commentator ought to decide when such and such a reading is to be adopted as the correct one!

9. The mountains in the neighbourhood of the Indus, according to Ctesias (§. 20), were inhabited by a wild race of beings, with dog's heads, of a black colour, and speaking an unin-

telligible language; these the Indians termed καλύστριοι, that is, κυνοκέφαλοι, or the dog-headed. Admitting the Greek translation of the name to be not altogether literal, and that the Indian sound has not been correctly expressed, I would nevertheless venture to compare it with the Persian کلک *kelek*, or *keluk*, a wolf, and سر *ser*, the head; that is to say, کلکسر *kelukser*, wolf-headed; which in Greek would properly be καλυκσιριος, and in the plural, καλυκσιριοι. But pronounced rapidly, the word might sound to a Greek ear like καλυκσρ, from whence came καλυστριοι.

Another word more exactly answering to the sound of the Greek, would be کالوستریں *kalusterin*, the superlative degree of *kalus*, stupid, foolish, which would convert these "dog-headed" people into "blockheads." But although this latter epithet agrees well enough with the description of the Cynocephali, it is nevertheless too little consonant with the translation of the term as furnished by Ctesias, to admit of our regarding it as the more probable etymology.

Reland (p. 213,) compares the Persian کله شکاري *kalla shikâri*, caput caninum, dog-headed. He supposes that Ctesias at first wrote καλίσκαροι, which was altered by the copyist into καλύστριοι; nevertheless he himself hesitates in adopting this explanation, and very justly observes, that شکاري *shikari*, means porperly a *hound*, from شکردن *shikar-*

dan, to hunt; and that كلة *kalla,* signifies the top of the head, rather than the head itself.

10. As to the unicorn described by Ctesias (§. 25), in a very circumstantial manner, but without the addition of its Indian name, I must beg leave to make it the subject of a few remarks. If there really is such an animal as an unicorn, resembling the stag or the horse, a notion which appears to be again entertained in modern times, we must look for it in Africa, the only country in which it has been reported to exist, by the concurrent testimony of all travellers, from Barthema down to Barrow. But the animal described by Ctesias, after the Persian manner of representing it, and which occurs frequently on the ruins of Persepolis, seems to me, in all its essential characteristics, to be no other than the Asiatic rhinoceros. To the latter will apply, 1. what Ctesias says of its wildness and strength, (§. 26. Compare Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 105,) which prevented its being ever taken alive; 2. its at first slow, but continually increasing pace; (Bruce also, p. 97, says that the rhinoceros sets off at a gentle trot, which after a few minutes is increased to a rapid gallop, and which the animal keeps up for a long time, though a horse can easily overtake him); 3. the circumstance of its flesh being unfit to eat (Ctesias §. 26.) It is true the Abyssinians, according to Bruce, eat the flesh of the elephant, as they do also of the rhinoceros, but it has a disagreeable musky flavour. The flesh, however, of an animal of the stag or horse

kind (Ctesias calls it a *wild ass,)* would not be *bitter,* as represented in the above paragraph. 4. A still more evident proof, in my opinion, of its being the rhinoceros, is the single horn, together with the property attributed to it of counteracting the effects of poison; for which purpose it is still the custom in Asia to make drinking cups of that material. The colour of this horn, according to Ctesias, is red at the point, black in the middle, and white at the base; which agrees very well with the account of Bruce, (p. 93,) who describes its exterior surface as of a reddish-brown. It is probable also, that Ctesias may be describing the animal's horn after it had been formed into a drinking vessel, in which case, the variety of colour he notices might be produced by artificial means, and by the removal of the outer covering[3].

The figure of an ass, with the size of a horse, which Ctesias attributes to his unicorn, agrees also with the size and unwieldy appearance of a rhinoceros. On the ruins of Persepolis, indeed, it is represented with a more slender shape, and more like a horse; this, however, is due to the imagination of the sculptor alone; and when we

[3] This conjecture is reduced almost to a certainty, by a passage in MANUEL PHILO *de animal. propriet.* cap. 37, which treats of the Indian onager and its horn, and is evidently borrowed from Ctesias. The author asks an Indian prince what the cup out of which he drank was made of, and which was ornamented with three rings, of a white, black, and red colour? Τί δή ποτ' ἐστὶν ὁ κρατὴρ ἐξ οὗ πίνεις; (καὶ γὰρ διαυγὴς καὶ προμήκης εὑρέθη, καὶ τρεῖς ἔχει ζωστῆρας ὡς λίθου φλέβας), λευκόντε μέλανά τε καὶ τὸ χρῶμα πορφυροῦν. The reply is, that it was made of the horn of the ὄναγρος, or wild ass.

recollect that it was also a fabulous animal which he meant to portray, we shall have as little reason to expect a faithful adherence to natural history in this case, as we have in those of the martichora and the griffin. Ctesias further remarks, as a peculiarity worthy of attention, (§. 25,) that all asses, tame as well as wild, (among which last he reckons his unicorn,) and other solid hooſed animals, have no huckle-bones, (*ἀστραγάλους,*) or gall in the liver; whereas the unicorn possesses both. He himself declares he had seen such a huckle-bone, which resembled that of an ox, but was as heavy as lead, and throughout of a bright red colour, (*ὥσπερ κινάβαρι,* like cinnabar, or rather, like vermilion.) He observes also, that the animal was hunted as much for the sake of these bones, as for its horn. The circumstance of the unicorn having a gall-bladder agrees perfectly well with the rhinoceros, which, as I am informed by M. Blumenbach, actually has one, and of a considerable size. Here then we discover an additional proof of the identity of these two animals. Ctesias merely notices the fact as remarkable, because he classes his unicorn with the *Solidunguli*, which, as he very justly observes, do not in fact possess a gall-bladder. What he says of the *astragalus* is so far correct and applicable to the rhinoceros, inasmuch as the latter certainly has huckle-bones, provided that be the true meaning of the Greek word. But how Ctesias, himself a physician, could possibly assert that solid

hoofed animals had no huckle-bones, which, on the contrary, they really have, just as much as the cloven footed, and which are, moreover, common to all animals, quadrupeds as well as quadrumanous, not omitting the human subject itself—this we must confess is perfectly unaccountable. According to Blumenbach, there is nothing particular in the huckle-bone of a rhinoceros, either as regards colour or specific gravity. It is possible, therefore, that Ctesias may have seen one of these bones artificially stained with red, which he mistook for the natural colour; and as it was also one of the objects for which the animal was hunted, we can scarcely doubt its being applied to some sort of use, and consequently, that it was fashioned by the hand of art, and perhaps some addition made to its natural weight.

On the other hand, however, I must not omit to notice certain difficulties in the description of Ctesias, which seem to contend against my hypothesis, and point to some other animal than the one I have supposed. The first of these respects colour. According to Ctesias, the unicorn is white, with a red head, and blue or dark eyes; whereas the rhinoceros is all over of a yellowish or greyish brown, his flanks only present a slight tinge of flesh colour, while the eyes are dark brown[4]. We must not, however, ex-

[4] For these and several other particulars, I am indebted to the kindness of M. Blumenbach; and I have myself also seen a living specimen of the animal in this country.

amine Ctesias too rigorously on the subject of colours, for his martichora is also said to be of a bright red, and he describes the griffin to be black, with a red breast. In fact, I am strongly inclined to suspect that he took these colours from some painted representation of the animals in question. His unicorn, both as described by himself, and as it is represented on the ruins of Persepolis, has a solid hoof, and one horn on the forehead; neither of which is the case with the rhinoceros. But if we consider the Persians to have derived their knowledge of the animal, merely from hearsay and exaggerated reports, this apparent difficulty will soon vanish; for having heard it described as strong and quick-footed, they naturally attributed to it a slender form, with a solid hoof, and placed the horn on the forehead as the most convenient situation. Besides, the hoof of the rhinoceros is not entirely cloven, like that of oxen and other animals, but only in part. For the same reason, the Arabs attribute to the *Kerkend* or rhinoceros a single hoof, and also speak of its horn as placed on the head or fore part of it. Even Marco Polo, (lib. iii. 15,) though certainly describing the rhinoceros of Asia, nevertheless observes: "in medio frontis gestat unum cornu." It is not improbable that the curvature of the horn, when viewed in front, may make it appear to be situated higher up than it really is.

The exaggerated statements of Ctesias relative to the strength and swiftness of this animal, are

nothing compared to what the Arabian authors relate; according to whom, the *Kerkend* requires upwards of a hundred parasangs of land for his support, that he chases all other animals away from his neighbourhood, carries off elephants upon his horn, and so forth!

The observations already made appear to be confirmed by the Indian or Persian name of the unicorn, as preserved to us by Ælian, *(De Natura Animalium,* xvi. 20.*)*

"There is also," says this writer, "among them (the Indians) a one-horned animal, which they call *kartazonon*[5]." From the description he gives of it, though somewhat incorrect, it is evident that the Indian rhinoceros is the animal meant, and that Ælian drew his account from good authorities. Bochart *(Hieroz.* I. p. 934,*)* wanted to change the above appellation into καρκαζωνον, in order to make it correspond better with the modern term, which is *kerkeddan,* or *kerkendan,* (كرّكدن كركندن;) he has omitted to notice another form, *karkadan,* كركدان, which would have been still more applicable. But as the word in question occurs twice, the proposed change seems too hazardous, and the termination دن or دان, *den, dân,* is too remote from ζωνος, as the letter د *d* is usually expressed in Greek by a τ. Suppose, however, we take καρταζωνος without alteration, as a word com-

[5] Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ζῶον ἐν τούτοις εἶναι μονόκερων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι καρτάζωνον.

pounded of كرك *kerk*, the ancient and still surviving Persian term in use, to signify a rhinoceros, and تازان *tâzân*, currens, velox, irruens? *Tâzân*[6], is the participle of تازيدن, to run, to fall upon; the whole expression therefore would designate the rhinoceros: or, if we reject the idea of ῥιν, "the nose," which is not implied in the word *kerk*, it would mean *fera velox*, "the swift beast[7];" an appellation very suitable to the notions of strength and swiftness, popularly attributed to this animal. From the distinguished situation the unicorn occupies in the entrance of the palace of Persepolis, it might perhaps have been a symbol of strength and activity, as the martichora was of courage and wisdom.

With regard to the *winged unicorn*, I must confess the appellation appears to me inappropriate[8]. This fabulous animal is also noticed by Le Bruyn, (tab. 158.) It is, however, perfectly distinct from the unicorn, by the circumstance of its being represented with the head of a lion and the body of a griffin: the only thing it has in common with the former is the horn. It is consequently a monster of a peculiar kind, which

[6] The long â in Persian occasionally sounds something like the Greek ω.

[7] The true meaning of *Kerk* is lost. It also denotes a species of goat with red hair; a large kind of eagle, *avis magna quæ elephantem tollit*; (the *Roc* of the Arabian Nights,) and also *Hylactor*, (see Cast. Lex. Hept.): the latter meaning is probably the same as *Molossus*. Perhaps the word may signify, generally, *bellua fera*, θηρ.

[8] [It has since been altered. HEEREN.]

the fanciful imagination of the sculptor has furnished with the head of a lion, the horn of an unicorn, and the figure of a griffin; it is in fact only another way of representing a griffin, and perhaps a more suitable designation for it, would be, the *lion-headed griffin.*

12. A large tree, (proceeds Ctesias,) which distils an odoriferous oil, is called in the Indian language, *κάρπιον,* but in Greek, *μυροπόδα,* i. e. "unguent-roses," (Ctes. §. 28.) This word seems to be compounded of كار *kâr,* faciens, and بوي *bui,* odor suavis; *karbui,* then, suave olens, expresses the Greek *μυροπόδα,* not indeed literally, but yet as far as the sense is concerned. *Kâr,* the participle of *kerden,* forms several compound words, mostly however as an affix, though sometimes also as a præfix; for example, كار ساز *kâr sâz,* faciens concordiam. The expression بوي كردن *bui kerden,* is still generally applied to perfumes. Reland (p. 215,) considers the tree in question to be the cinnamon, which is called in Persian قرفه *kirfah:* the Singhalese call it *koredhu,* whence *kirfah* and *karpion* have been derived. *Kirfah,* however, is properly an Arabic word, from the root قرف *karafa,* decorticavit, and denotes the peeled bark of the cinnamon tree, cassia, etc. Paulinus à S. Bartolomæo, (in his dissertation, *De Antiquitate et Affinitate Linguæ Zendicæ, Samscrdamicæ et Germanicæ,* Paduæ, 1798, 4to. p. 49,) remarks, that the Sanscrit name of the cinnamon tree, is *karuva,* of

the bark, *karuvatoli*. The first of these words has certainly some sort of resemblance to Karpion, and may possibly be the very word Ctesias meant to express. The signification, however, of κάρπιον is not mentioned.

13. Lastly, Ctesias, (§. 30,) describes a certain kind of mineral spring, called by the Indians, βαλλάδη, which he interprets to mean ὠφελίμη, "useful" or "wholesome." With this I shall compare the Persian بلد or بلاد *veláđ* or *velá*, "eminent," "strong," "mighty;" though it appears to have formerly signified, "excellent;" as, according to Castell, the word is also applied to a sort of rich silk stuffs. Reland, (p. 211,) cites بلد *beláđ*, laudatus, because what is useful deserves praise. According to father Paulino, *ballam*, in Sanscrit, means "water," and *nallada*, "good:" in this case, the word βαλλάδη, would be properly Indian, though expressed in a very concise manner[8].

In the Appendix to the *Excerpta* of Ctesias, (§. 32,) which is only found in the MS. of Munich, and probably does not belong to that writer, mention is made of an Ethiopian animal, under the name of κροκόττας, which is interpreted in Greek by κυνολύκος. According to the description, it should be the hyæna, but then the word is not Ethiopic, as might be supposed; for the proper name in that language is *Tekula*. I am almost inclined to

[8] *Balada*, in Sanscrit, would mean, "giving strength;" which might very well allude to the sanitary virtues of the spring, but whether such an epithet ever occurs is another question. TRANS.

look for κροκόττας in the Persian کرگ which usually means a wolf, and کوژ which signifies "lame," pedibus infirmus. "Lame wolf," would be no improper designation, as applied to the hyæna, for the Arabian naturalists always describe that animal with an infirm gait, for which reason he has the epithet of العرجا *Al-árjâ*, or the "lame." (See Bruce's Travels, vol. v. p. 113.)

From the above comparisons, which are certainly not all of them far-fetched or strained, it would seem, that the words cited by Ctesias, as Indian, are in fact of Persian origin, or nearly related thereto. There are, besides, several Indian glosses to be found in Hesychius[9], and other writers, to which the same observation will apply. One example from the former may suffice: Hesychius writes, *Μαὶ, μέγα, Ἰνδοί*; now *μαὶ*, being pronounced in later times like the word *may*, is evidently the Persian مه *mih*, which signifies "*great.*" In Sanscrit, it is *mah*, or *mahe* [maha]. Here then we meet with a sound more nearly allied to the Persian than the Indian.

How are we to explain this phenomenon? can we suppose that Ctesias knowingly gave out these Persian words for Indian, or that he really mistook them for such? the last is the opinion of Reland, according to whom, (p. 209, 211, 219,) the Greeks and Romans, owing to their

[9] They have already been in part collected and explained by Reland; but a great many still remain for future discussion. Some of them, however, are pure Indian, as for instance: *ἀναγκης, ὄρνεόν τι Ἰνδικὸν*, which, according to father Paulino, is the Sanscrit for a "bird:" again, *παταλα*, Sanscrit, *pattala*, a "commercial town," etc.

ignorance of the countries and languages, very often confounded the latter, and mistook Persian words for Indian. This may certainly apply very well to the Greeks of later times, but Ctesias, who resided so long in Persia, cannot but have been perfectly able to distinguish the language of that country from the Indian, while, on the other hand, it is impossible to conceive for a moment, that he seriously meant to deceive his readers. We may easily allow certain words not expressly mentioned as Indian, in the Excerpta, to be Persian names of Indian objects or productions; most of them, however, are accompanied with the remark, that they are Indian, though, nevertheless, they have a Persian sound, as in the case of σιτταχορα, καρπιον, etc. The more probable supposition is, that in the northern parts of India, which Ctesias is particularly describing, a dialect of the Persian was spoken; and perhaps we might infer as much from the ancient tradition which represented Bokhara and the countries on the Oxus, to have been colonized from Istakhar or Persepolis, that is, admitting the report to extend so far back. But without laying too much stress on this tradition, we must bear in mind that the Sanscrit, which is the parent source of all the Indian dialects, and was certainly at one time a living language, and, according to all appearances, current in northern India, is most intimately connected with the Persian, both in matter and form, as Father Paulino has shewn in the Treatise already

alluded to. And when we reflect on the influence which emigration, the admixture of different tribes, and a variety of other circumstances, occurring through a space of so many hundred years, must unavoidably have exercised on the languages in question, we shall readily believe the affinity between them to have been still greater in ancient times.

This very resemblance, however, may possibly appear, to some of my readers, to interpose a serious objection to the truth of my comparisons; and certainly it may seem strange to look in the modern Persian for words quoted by a writer who lived upwards of two thousand years ago. In reply to this, I shall merely observe, that the Parsi dialect has, for the most part, undergone but little apparent change, and, notwithstanding the revolution of empires, and the overwhelming effect of Arabian dominion, religion, and literature, has, like its occidental sister, the German, managed to preserve its radical words and primitive form. It has indeed introduced a number of Arabic terms, but its peculiar and altogether western character has effectually secured it from essential change. Owing to this fortunate circumstance we are enabled to detect in the modern language of Persia, most of the Persian words occurring in Herodotus and other ancient writers, when they have not entirely disappeared in the lapse of centuries.

APPENDIX V.

On the words Pasargada and Persepolis; by Professor Tychsen.

You desire to know, my dear Sir, first, whether the words *Pasargadæ* and *Persæ*, considered as the names of a people, are etymologically distinct, or whether they are synonymous? and, secondly, whether *Pasargada* and *Persepolis*, as names of places, have a different signification? To this question, I have only a few observations to offer as a reply, though, at the same time, I am obliged to confess they are nothing more than conjectural. The explanation of ancient Persian words, by the help of the modern language of Persia, is very frequently uncertain, owing to our ignorance respecting the pronunciation; as, for example, whether we are to say, Pāsargādæ or Păsargădæ; and, in the next place, because the modern Persian, though really descended from the ancient, has nevertheless lost a great number of words, and undergone other considerable modifications, in the course of time. In many cases, therefore, we are reduced to the necessity of guessing at the signification of the word in

question, when not pointed out by ancient documents.

Pasargadæ is evidently a compound term, formed of *pasar* and *gadæ*. Of both these words, several etymologies have been furnished from the Persian, of which I shall only notice the most probable[1]. At setting out, I take it for granted that both *a*'s are short, because there is no word having the *a* long (ا) that will furnish any tolerable etymology.

To begin, then, with Gada; which I consider to be the same as the Persian *Kedeh* or *Kadeh*, (کده) signifying "place," "abode," etc., and often joined to substantives, in order to form a compound word; as, for example, *Atesh-Kedeh*, "the place of fire" or "fire-altar," *Mei-Kedeh*, "wine-house," etc.

Pasar may either be compared with the well-known Persian word بزرك *buzurk*, "great," "magnificent," "powerful;" in which case the

[1] D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orient.* voce *Pesser*) explains *Pesser-gheda*, or *Keda*, by "sons of the house;" and goes on to say, "there is no doubt that the word *Pasargades*, which signifies 'children of the house,' or princes of the blood royal of Persia, was corrupted by the Greek writers from *Pessergheda*." I must be allowed to doubt the correctness of this etymology: for although *Pesser* certainly does mean "son," yet the idea of "royal house" is not contained in the word *keda*; which does not signify "house," in the acceptation of "family," but solely in that of "abode," "habitation." Besides, *Pesser-keda* would more correctly mean "house of children;" to say nothing of the fact, that it was not the whole tribe of the Pasargades, but only a part of it, the family of the Achæmenides, which consisted of princes. D'Herbelot seems to have had in his mind the peculiar acceptation of the French word *maison*, *maison royale*.

final letter, being repeated in the second member of the compound, will suffer elision; or, still more probably, with بزر *bezer*, "light," "splendour," "ray." In the first case, therefore, *buzurk-kedeh* would signify, "the place" or "abode of the great;" in the second, *bezer-kedeh* would be, "the abode" or "country of light."

Upon comparing the proper name *Persæ* with the last-mentioned word, we discover a very striking affinity of signification. According to Anquetil Duperron, *Pares*, (پارس) in the Zend language, means, "pure," "brilliant," an appellation which, in a physical sense, applies very well to Fars or Persia Proper, as enjoying an ever clear sky; and is equally appropriate, in a religious point of view, as alluding to the introduction of Magianism, the religion of light and purity. Even in the modern Persian, the word *Parsa* (پارسا) means "pure," though it is more correctly employed in a moral sense, as denoting "holy," "pious." *Persæ*, therefore, as the name of a people, would signify "the inhabitants of *Pars*," or, according to the etymology just given, "the country of light;" and *Pasargadæ*, as a patronymic formed by the Greeks from Pasargada, would have precisely the same meaning, that is, provided we are right in our comparison.

With regard to the second question, viz. whether Pasargada and Persepolis, considered as names of places, are of different signification;

we may easily answer it by what has gone before. *Pasar,* (Bezer,) and *Pares,* mean very nearly the same thing, and *Gada,* (Kedeh,) as we have just noticed, is synonymous with πόλις. The interpretation of ancient writers who explain *Pasargada* by *castra Persarum,* is so far correct, as *Pasar* agrees in sense with *Pars,* from which the proper name *Persæ* was derived.

In drawing the above comparisons, the Greek σ has been rendered by the Persian ز (*ze,*) not altogether in conformity, I must confess, with the general rule laid down for comparing languages, according to which the *sigma* of the Greeks should correspond with the Arabic *sin,* (س). But the Greeks and Romans frequently expressed the ز of Persian words by an *s;* for instance, the name *Pyroses,* occurring in Ammian, (lib. xix. 3,) is undoubtedly the Persian فیروز *Firuz,* "victor," as Ammian himself explains it; the case is the same with Hormisdas, Isdegertes, etc. The liberty I have taken may therefore be justified by analogy; and the interchange of the letters *b* and *p* can present no difficulty whatever.

Supposing the Greeks to have written the word incorrectly, as they very often did, when translating a foreign term into their own language, we might bring *Pasargada* and *Persepolis* into still closer affinity with each other, merely by a slight transposition of the letter *r,* as *Parsagada;* the name would signify "place of the Persians," and be exactly equivalent to

Persepolis. Reland (Diss. viii. *De Vet. Ling. Pers.* p. 213,) has already adopted this reading, which he found in Curtius, (v. 6,) who correctly writes *Persagada.* Explanations, however, which render it necessary to alter the original word, are for that very reason to be rejected, particularly in a case where it so often occurs as the one in question; and, besides, very little dependance is to be placed on the authority of a writer so comparatively modern as Curtius, who most likely wrote *Persagada,* purely and solely for the sake of etymology. I am of opinion, too, that after what has been already observed, the emendation of Reland is altogether unnecessary[2].

The proposed change, however, is not so bold as that adopted by several modern geographers, who have written the word "*Pasagarda,*" which has found its way even into our manuals, and is so spelled in the latest map of Persia. For this reading I can discover no other kind of authority than a fancied resemblance in termination to such words as *Tigranocerta, Artagicerta,* and others, compounded of the Aramæan *Carta,* which means "city." The comparison, however, is inadmissible, because, as the Persian language belongs to an essentially different fa-

[2] The word *Gada* may also be compared with the Persian *Tshadar,* which signifies "tent," or "camp;" and thus Persagada would mean precisely "*Castra Persarum.*" But we shall scarcely meet with an example of the hard sound *tsh* (tshim) being ever expressed by γ; to say nothing of the omission of the final letter *r.* Father Paulino compares the Indian *paser,* "puer," "a young man," and *cada,* "a plain," so that the whole word would signify "*the field of youths.*"

mily from the Aramæan dialects, it would be absurd to attempt illustrating the former by the help of the latter.

You yourself, my dear Sir, will be best able to judge, whether Pasargada and Persepolis, on account of this affinity between the two names, are to be considered as synonymous appellations of one and the same place, and how far our geographers are authorized in placing them nearly a whole degree apart from each other. You will perhaps find that the *Pasargadæ* of Herodotus are in fact the Persepolitans, whom that writer distinguishes from the other Persian tribes, on account of the reigning dynasty of the Achæmenides being descended from them; of which latter appellation I may remark, in passing, that it scarcely contains a single syllable common to that of the fabulous Jemshid.

APPENDIX VI.

Some observations on Herder's Persepolis[1].

In my treatise on Persepolis, I have purposely refrained altogether from alluding to Herder's publication on the same subject, because nothing would be gained by a repetition of what had been said before; without at the same time presuming to assert, that my own investigations have been of any considerable service to this branch of literature. We have each of us travelled by different roads; and it would not, therefore, be uninteresting to know how far these have conducted us to the same point.

Herder rests his illustrations on eastern tradition, such as it is found in modern Asiatic writers, or as it has been orally communicated from one generation to another. Thus he supposes the buildings of Chihel Minar to be the palace of Jemshid, on the walls of which there is an allegorical representation of the actions and go-

[1] It has been announced, that in the new edition of Herder's works, his treatise on Persepolis would be corrected and enlarged. The author regrets his having been unable to consult this edition, though it is probable that Herder's principal notions continue the same.

vernment of this king, without, however, seeking to establish, from the hypothesis, either that the edifice is really the work of Jemshid, or that it belongs to his age. Moreover, his commentary is confined to the building, an explanation of the tombs being reserved for some future period. I, on the contrary, have begun with the latter, and, agreeably to my plan, have not relied on tradition, or modern testimony, but simply and solely on the evidence of contemporary writers. This, I am ready to allow, has not led me to any such positive results as those of my predecessor; and I have been obliged to content myself with determining in general terms the date of the buildings, and the use for which they were probably intended. Accordingly, I think I have succeeded in proving that they must be referred to the period of the Persian empire, and that the building itself, as the residence and place of sepulture of the Persian kings, was considered in the light of a sanctuary, and held to be the chief place in the kingdom.

Upon comparing these two results together, it will easily be perceived, that they are not in any degree opposed to each other. For when I maintain in general that the representations sculptured on the monuments of Chihel Minar are those of a happy reign and brilliant court, according to eastern notions, I cannot but consider it very probable that the ideal picture given of Jemshid's reign in the Zendavesta, formed their groundwork; and the rather as they so frequently

afford traces of Zoroaster's religion. But I could not bring forward this opinion without infringing the severe rules of criticism which I had imposed on myself.

Supplement.

The further illustrations of Persepolis promised by Herder, did not appear till after his death, and the publication of the second edition of my work; they will be found in his first volume, which is devoted to philosophy and history, under the title of Persepolitan letters addressed to several learned men; one of them being particularly addressed to myself. Whoever is acquainted with my labours, will soon perceive that the greatest part of these letters, even where I am not mentioned by name, are written against me, and that not unfrequently with a degree of harshness which might appear surprising in a writer who talks of urbanity in every page, if we were not prepared for this by his earlier polemical writings. I first defended myself against his representations in the *Intelligenzblatt der Allgem. Litter. Zeitung*, 1806, No. 17; and afterwards more at large in a treatise which I read in the year 1808 to the Göttingen Society of Sciences, (*Eruditorum conamina ad explicanda urbis Persepolis monumenta censuræ subjectâ,*) and which was only published in an abridged form, (*Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeiger*, 1809, No. 4,) as it did not seem proper to be included in the general collection of commentaries, which ought

to have something higher for its object than the disputes of the learned. If the aggressions of which I complain were not made in a periodical paper, I should rest satisfied with what I have so often professed, that if my works cannot defend themselves, they do not merit any protection from me. But as the allegations in question are placed at the head of Herder's works, they will not be so easily consigned to oblivion as the other polemical writings; and under these circumstances, I consider myself bound to offer something in reply.

In my opinion, a monument of antiquity is to be regarded as the public property of succeeding ages, and every one is at liberty to exercise his ingenuity in explaining it, so far as it is involved in obscurity. Consequently each individual may have a way of his own, and whatever rank he holds in the list of illustrators, his claim to originality is as good as that of the very first, whether or not he attains to the same results.

Such is the relation in which I stand with respect to Herder. Throughout the whole course of my researches, I have nothing in common with him; I have followed a path of my own, and have drawn my information from other sources than his; my right to my own work is therefore incontestable. The duty also which I owed him as my predecessor, has been fulfilled by explaining in the last appendix the plan of his commentary and my own, without contradicting him. Even supposing that I carried the interpretation

no farther than he had done himself, the merit of having confirmed those results by a critical examination would be due to me; that is, so far as any merit will be ascribed to such inquiries. Was I, in this case, liable to any charge of plagiarism from Herder, and had he any reason to say that he would not be deprived of the fruit of his researches? Who wished to deprive him of any part of his merit?

But does the interpretation, as Herder represents, remain where he left it? The public are in a condition to judge; I fear no comparison, and will confine myself to the following observation: Herder, in his Persepolis, has given only a general explanation; he says that the palace of Jemshid was the palace of the Persian government, on the walls of which the king and his court are represented. This is also my opinion, but have I gone no farther than this general assertion, which occurs to the mind naturally of itself? Have I not entered into details in my interpretation, which is indeed its peculiar character? Moreover, as Herder has not even once alluded to the tombs, or to the figures represented on them, should not my explanation of the latter, and the proofs by which I have ascertained the personages to whom they belong, and consequently the general epoch at which they were built, be considered as belonging entirely to myself? Is this not to advance the question beyond the point where Herder left it? I have here intentionally omitted to notice the inscrip-

tions, as it is my purpose to return to them hereafter.

But I am again reproached (p. 191, 192,) for not having gone sufficiently into details. I ought to have described the nations represented on the great relief one by one, and have illustrated them by a comparison with the list of satrapies in Herodotus. It will readily be believed, that a writer who has devoted several months to an investigation of Persepolis, with Herodotus constantly before him, has not left this undone. It has, however, led me to conclude that no certain result is to be derived from this course; on which account I have omitted to mention it. The attempt has been renewed in the present edition, but without my having reason to congratulate myself on its greater success.

What Herder is the least able to pardon me, is the use I have made of contemporary Greek writers, in order to the illustration of Persepolis. "As they have not mentioned Persepolis by name, we ought not to take them for our authority, particularly in fixing the age of the building; the edifice itself must inform us of this;" (p. 189.) But does not Ctesias describe the tombs, Xenophon the court and body-guard, and Diodorus (from later sources) the palace? Whence can we obtain purer and more certain intelligence than the accounts of contemporary writers? Perhaps the traditions which Herder follows? This assertion is a very singular one, and serves to

shew into what absurdities the love of contradiction will sometimes bring a man. For it has never yet come into the mind of any one, to maintain seriously, that popular traditions after the lapse of two thousand years, have more weight than the accounts of contemporary authors. Are we then, according to this system, to receive confidently all that the orientals are pleased to advance concerning Solomon and Alexander the Great? Besides this, a curious circumstance occurs with respect to these Persian traditions. According to Herder himself, (p. 213,) the Persian tradition relative to Jemshid originated in the monuments of Persepolis. Thus the tradition was formed from the monuments, and, conversely, the monuments are to be explained by the tradition. This is criticism indeed, with a vengeance!

It appeared probable to me that the arts amongst the Persians, and particularly that of architecture, may have had a Bactrian origin. At the same time I have said, as clearly as I could, that I considered Bactria as the eastern part of the Median kingdom, with which, according to the Zendavesta, it was incorporated; so that this expression can mean nothing more than that the Persians borrowed their arts from the Medes, as they did their religion, and civilization in general. Herder, on the contrary, derives their architecture successively from the Egyptians, (p. 145,) which he retracts in another place, (p. 153;) then from the Greeks, then from the Babylonians, though he afterwards says it was

not Babylonian, (p. 189;) and lastly from the Medes: "it was," says he, "an Egyptico-Grecian art, regulated after the Medo-Persian manner," (p. 167.) Is this intelligible? And how can we answer a writer who so frequently contradicts himself?

After this, (p. 158,) it is objected to me, that I have named Persepolis the residence of the Persian kings after their death. Is not, however, such an expression justifiable, when I have proved, as Herder himself cannot deny, that the kings were buried here; that, agreeably to the Persian custom, the servants of the dead kings attended them hither, where they were obliged to remain; and that this place was by no means the usual residence of the sovereigns, but that they went to it at certain seasons only, for the performance of certain sacred rites? Have I ever called it a Necropolis, a city of the dead, (or rather a mere cemetery,) as Herder imputes to me? Have I not, on the contrary, said expressly that it was considered by the Persians as the capital of their empire, *caput regni?*

I had advanced a conjecture that the name of Persepolis is a translation of Pasargada, and that they may both have had originally the same signification, although the language of a later period distinguished between them. A greater orientalist, who understands the Persian language, which Herder did not, has confirmed my notion by etymological proofs, (see above, Appendix V.) But Herder informs me that the word Pasargada signified assembly, camp of

the Persians; and that every camp gave rise to a Pasargada, (p. 156, 159.) The first of these notions I published myself, and before him. Could then Herder have forgotten in the warmth of his zeal, what he had previously read in my own work? With regard to the second, I acknowledge that wherever the Persians encamped, there was a Persian camp; though I deny that every such place bore afterwards the name of Pasargada. I am acquainted with only one Pasargada, and Herder has failed to prove that there were more places of the same name.

If there is any one merit which I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to communicate to my writings, and especially to the present work, it is that of the utmost perspicuity. My experience, however, has brought me to the conclusion, that though it may be possible enough to secure my being understood by the generally educated reader; an attempt to satisfy the critical scholar is but labour in vain. My conjecture respecting the original identity of Persepolis and Pasargada has been the motive for inducing an esteemed French writer, Sainte-Croix, *(Examen critique des historiens d'Alexandre-le-Grand,* p. 892,*)* to accuse me of having denied the existence of Persepolis. And this I am accused of, who have actually been engaged in illustrating the monuments of this very Persepolis! Another writer, St. Julien de Ruet, *(Tableau du commerce des anciens,* vol. ii. p. 525,*)* who follows Sainte-Croix, absolutely com-

plains, and with every appearance of sincerity, of my defending such paradoxical assertions!

Another objection of Herder's is drawn from my explanation of the fabulous animals. I have taken my illustrations from Ctesias, who has described them exactly as they are on the reliefs, or only with such variations as may evidently be included in the circle of this species of mythology. If this be the case, and the Indica of Ctesias contain only such traditions of eastern Asia as had found their way to the Persians; what can be excepted against this method of interpretation? It seems obviously a better proceeding, than to borrow our lights from Ferdousi, who confessedly used the traditions which had been formed from the monuments of Persepolis. Herder himself has been unable to deny that the griffin and unicorn appear exactly the same on these monuments as Ctesias has described them; and with respect to the wonderful animal with a human head, I have said that I consider it to be the same as the *martichora* of Ctesias, which, as a quadruped with a human head, agrees with it in its essential character; though, at the same time, I have not overlooked the differences which exist in the minor details. According to Ctesias, the term martichora signifies *destroyer of men*. Hence I have explained this animal as being the symbol of strength and military courage; and I considered it a very appropriate emblem for placing before the gates of a palace, which was the cen-

tral point of an empire gained by conquest. Is not all this in strict keeping? Is it not consistent? Moreover, the etymological explanation of Ctesias has been also confirmed by M. Tychsen, from the Persian, who adds, that at this day the Persians are accustomed to name a hero and great warrior, *merdemkhor*. If this does not at the same time confirm my own explanation, I am ignorant what does.

With respect to the figures of the kings engaged in single combat with the fabulous animals, I said, that these probably represented the king as a bold and successful hunter; that this appeared to me the simplest and most suitable interpretation, because it is conformable to the spirit of the east, where hunting is considered as an exercise preparatory to war, where the great hunter shares the glory of a hero; and because Darius is thus distinguished in the inscription reported by Strabo. This I advanced, as what appeared to me the most probable supposition, without, however, rejecting Herder's idea, that these animals were the representations of subjugated nations and kingdoms. But here also I am in the wrong. It would be impossible to understand how a writer who thinks he has caught the spirit of the east more than all others, who has in all probability read the Cyropædia, as well as the Travels of Chardin and Bernier, can deny that hunting is here regarded in the light which I have stated, were it not to

be accounted for by the spirit of contradiction. Moreover, I said in a former part of my work, that I considered my conjecture only as the most probable which has been offered. Accordingly I have now changed it for another, without adopting that of Herder, (vol. i. p. 186.)

For the attempt which has been made to clear up the inscriptions, the public are not indebted to me, but to M. Grotefend. The readers will be the best judges, whether this interpretation continues where Herder left it. No objection of any importance against M. Grotefend's method has hitherto come to my knowledge: on the contrary, the orientalists of Germany and France have received it with approbation. In his Persepolis, Herder has left this subject untouched. In his Persepolitan letters, he begins by expressing a high admiration of the method of interpretation, followed by the late M. Tychsen, of Rostock. But, unfortunately for him, this impartial scholar retracted his own, after he became acquainted with that of M. Grotefend. I forbear all further observations on the subject, as they will naturally occur to the reader of themselves.

In this reply I have confined myself to the monuments of Persepolis. What Herder says of the age of Zoroaster, whom he makes contemporary with Darius, and of the Persian religion, would furnish matter for long discussion. But both our writings lie before the public, and I have no desire to repeat what has been said of

me. It is indeed no agreeable task to engage in literary polemics with a man whose deserved reputation I have no wish to lessen; nor should I have been willing to disturb him if he had not first begun this dispute.

APPENDIX VII.

Additions to page 249 of this volume. On the most ancient navigation of the Persian gulf.

In my inquiries into the commerce of the Phœnicians and Babylonians, I have, as I think, sufficiently proved, that these people navigated the Persian gulf, and that they maintained by its means a considerable traffic with India, either directly, or through the intervention of other nations. Some publications which have since come into my hands have given me occasion to subjoin the following remarks on the subject.

I have already shewn that the Phœnicians possessed some colonies in the Persian gulf, amongst which I reckon the Bahrein islands, named Tyrus and Aradus, after two of their largest cities. A modern traveller, Dr. Seetzen, (see his Letter in Zach's Monthly Correspondence for Sept. 1813,) has remarked, as I had indeed myself, that there were traces of Phœnician appellations in the names of several places in the Persian gulf; from which Dr. Seetzen

concludes, that the Phœnicians had several colonies in the islands and on the neighbouring shores; and this conclusion he employs in explaining the journey to Ophir. According to him, the length of the voyage may be easily accounted for, by the supposition, that the Phœnician ships sailed along the coast from one colony to another, for the purpose of traffic, before they returned to the place from whence they set out. Moreover, Edrisi expressly mentions an Ophir in the region of Bahrein, (there is another in the country of Omân,) beyond which, he says, there is a place named El-Harrah, which would seem to be the ancient Gerrha. All this is extremely probable. As soon as the Phœnicians participated in the trade of the Persian gulf, they could not dispense with colonies in this; and necessity obliged them to found several on the two shores and in the islands. At the same time this confirms my opinion respecting Ophir, and that it did not imply any one single place, but generally the southern emporia of Arabia Felix, Africa, and perhaps India, so far as the ancients were acquainted with it. This explanation is favoured by analogy, as the appellations of distant places and countries are usually vague amongst all nations; and much perplexity has been introduced into ancient geography by attempts to ascertain them; as, for example, in the case of Thule. The explanation is also agreeable to history, as it discovers to us, why several Ophirs are found in those different coun-

tries, and at the same time enables us to account for the duration of the voyage, and the nature and variety of the merchandise. Lastly, it is agreeable to etymology, as Ophir in the Arabic language signifies, "rich countries," (see Tychsen, *De Commerciis Hebræorum, in Commentat. Soc. Gött.* vol. xvi. p. 164.) Thus, I consider Tarshish to be a general appellation for the countries with which the ancients were acquainted in remote parts of the west; for Spain in particular. The more recent opinion of Gosselin, with which Vincent concurs, (ii. p. 638,) urges that the expression, *ships of Tarshish,* should be rendered generally, ships of the sea, and this notion is favoured by Luther. But in the second book of Chronicles, (xix. 21,) there is express mention of ships going to Tarshish, ללכות תרשיש; which the interpretation in question would suppose to be interpolated, (Tychsen, l. c.) Should we explain the Hebrew Tarshish by the word *sea,* this will not affect the existence of the Phœnician Tartessus, as a colony in Spain, which is sufficiently known from the authority of Greek and Roman authors.

Besides the Phœnicians, the Babylonians, or Chaldæans navigated the Persian gulf. The arguments which have been already adduced appear to me sufficient to establish the fact; Dr. Vincent, however, has led me to remark the existence of other proof, (*Peripl.* ii. p. 356.) He supposes that the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar had for its object the extension of Indian com-

merce to the Persian gulf and Babylon, and from thence, through the empire of this king, to Damascus and Syria, by way of Palmyra. At the same time he quotes a fragment of Abydenus, (in Scaliger, *De Emendat. Temp.* Notæ ad Beros. p. xii.) concerning the works designed by Nebuchadnezzar, near Babylon, according to which he made two canals, the Harmacales and Aracanus, constructed large sluices, confined the waters of the Tigris by a dam, and built the city of Tenedon, as a defence against the incursions of the Arabs. This city of Tenedon, above the mouth of the Pasitigris, was a considerable emporium; and as lately as the age of Nearchus afforded a market for Arabian and Indian productions.

APPENDIX VIII.

On the Voyages of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians to Britain, and their settlements on the coast.

In my disquisition upon the voyages of the Carthaginians to the Tin-islands, from not being aware of the existence of any others in the neighbourhood, I had identified the *Insulæ Œstrymnides* with the Scilly group, though, at the same time, I could not conceal from myself the difficulties connected with this hypothesis. A critical notice of my work, inserted in the Metropolitan Magazine for January, 1832, and for which I feel very much obliged to the writer, has since pointed out the inadmissibility of my assumption; and from a more accurate knowledge of the locality than I could pretend to, the Reviewer has been enabled to place the whole subject in a better light, and I am therefore anxious to submit his explanation to the reader. Before we proceed, however, I shall first of all endeavour to shew how far we are justified in supposing the Phœnicians, and their colonists the Carthaginians, to have extended their voyages

as far as Britain, and to have formed settlements on the coast: in doing this, we must be careful to make a due discrimination between what has real historical testimony for its basis, and that which depends on conjectural probability alone.

In the portion of my work relating to the Carthaginians, (see vol. i. of the African Nations, Appendix vi.) I have already cited the authority which, as connected with this question, must be looked upon as the first and most important, being no less than that of the Carthaginian commander Himilco, to whom the charge of the expedition destined for the British shores was intrusted; and though it comes to us through an indirect channel, we must still be content to receive it as entitled to our earliest consideration.

The Carthaginians fitted out two grand simultaneous expeditions for the purpose of planting colonies, and pushing their discoveries further: one of them, under Hanno, was destined for the western coasts of Africa; the other, under Himilco, for the corresponding shores of Europe. Both commanders had their respective adventures commemorated on a public monument, set up in one of the principal temples of Carthage. The account of Hanno's expedition has fortunately been preserved in a Greek translation, already noticed in the volume on the Carthaginians, (App. vi.); where it was shewn, that the account in question is not a detailed narrative of Hanno's adventures, or even an extract of any

such narrative, as has been generally supposed, but, as the title itself proves, "a public memorial;" in fact, a mere inscription, such as the Carthaginians were accustomed to inscribe on public monuments in commemoration of some great national undertaking. What has been said of Hanno's voyage will also apply to that of Himilco. Unfortunately, however, but little information has come down to us respecting the latter; and that little is contained in the fragments of a poem by Avienus, entitled, "Ora Maritima;" which, as far as they relate to this subject, will be found in the Appendix above referred to.

These fragments supply us with the following data:—

1. The Phœnicians had, in very early times, extended their voyages from Gades along the coasts of Europe.

2. The Carthaginians did not merely follow in their wake; but had also founded a series of independent colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules, along the shores of Spain, from whence they sailed still further to the country where tin and lead were to be procured.

3. This was also the destination of Himilco's voyage: but whether his expedition consisted of a single ship, or of a whole squadron, is uncertain; probably the latter was the case, as it is known to have been with respect to the undertaking of Hanno.

4. The extent of the voyage itself was the

Insulæ Œstrymnides, which Himilco reached after a four months' sail.

5. These islands lay contiguous to the shores of Albion, so near, in fact, that the communication between them and the main land was kept up by means of boats made of leather[1]: they were also within two days' sail of the "Holy Island," inhabited by the Hiberni.

6. The coasts of Albion, opposite to this island, were inhabited by a people whose chief occupation was commerce; for which purpose they traded thither in their canoes.

All this is clearly deducible from the passages cited in the above-mentioned Appendix; but still the original question recurs—which are the Insulæ Œstrymnides?

Unacquainted with the existence of any others, I had set them down as the Scilly Islands, to which the Reviewer objects, that such a determination is out of the question, they being nothing more than bare rocks, at too great a distance from the mainland, and situate in too stormy a sea to admit of being approached in canoes. On the other hand, the opinion of the

[1] Boats formed of wicker work, covered with oilcloth or leather, are still in common use throughout Wales, and particularly on the Wye and Severn, where they are termed *Coracles;* they are not much bigger than a moderately sized basket, and are only made to hold one person, who also carries it about with him, and makes use of it, as occasion may require. The public papers, however, lately noticed an occurrence of shipwreck on the western coast of Ireland, from which it appears that boats of this description are also used on the open sea, and are large enough to accommodate upwards of half a dozen people, having been employed in the above instance to convey the survivors to land. TRANS.

Reviewer points to St. Michael's Mount, as the probable situation of the Œstrymnides, which is accessible from the main at ebb tide, and where also there are traces of other small islands, now submerged. I will, however, give the whole passage in the words of the writer himself:—

"We are of opinion, that the present St. Michael's Mount is intended, which, at low water, is joined to the main land, and where tin is found in two ways, in stream works, and by mining. The Scilly isles are mere rocks: St. Michael's Mount, it is true, is not more of itself; but we know that there was other land, perhaps isolated also, in Mount's Bay, and since submerged. In those days we do not believe tin was found in mines, whence it is now taken in the state of ore: it was in all probability collected from the stream works, in the form which is denominated grain-tin. These stream works are horizontal excavations, open to the earth's surface, whence the tin is obtained by washing. These stream works do not require machinery to descend into them, or to drain them. Pickaxes of holm, box-wood, and hartshorns, have been often found in them, the instruments of a rude people and age. May not Œstrymnon in Avienus mean the Lizard? The bay and isles, Mount's Bay? Then is all accounted for."

With this explanation I fully concur, as the most probable that has yet been offered; for it not only removes the difficulty, but perfectly coincides also with the customs of the Carthagi-

nians, whose usual plan it was to make choice of some small island contiguous to the shore, as an emporium for their merchandise, of which the Cerne islands, off the coast of Lybia, are an instance. I take then St. Michael's Mount, with the islets formerly surrounding it, to be the Insulæ Œstrymnides; Mount's Bay to be the Sinus, and Cape Lizard the Promontory, mentioned by Avienus. These islands are situate on the coast of Cornwall, the native country of tin and lead. I do not see, however, why the means of obtaining the metal should be limited to merely trenching the soil, as in the case of the stream works above noticed. The Phœnicians possessed considerable skill in mining operations, which it is not likely they would have failed to exercise in the case before us. The only serious difficulty seems to consist in Ierna's being placed at a distance of only two days' sail from the spot; but perhaps it would be unreasonable to expect very minute accuracy in such fragments as those we have alluded to.

The above explanation agrees also with the account given by Diodorus, (i. p. 347,) who mentions, that "the inhabitants of the British continent were very skilful in obtaining the tin, which they afterwards conveyed to a small island, called Fetis, accessible from the shore, dryshod, when the tide is out:" this was the mart where the foreign merchants carried on their trade, and took in their cargoes.

We may receive it then as an historical fact,

that the Phœnicians, and after them, the Carthaginians, extended their discoveries and their commerce from Gades to the shores of Britain, and indeed to the coast of Cornwall, as being the nearest, and at the same time the most abundant in the productions they particularly sought for. It is not expressly said that they also passed over into Ireland, nor in fact is it probable they did, because the articles they were in quest of could not be procured there. They were, however, acquainted with the island, and from their having denominated it "the holy," they must in consequence have attached to it certain ideas connected with religious worship. An intercourse between Britain and Ireland must also have existed, from the fact of its being known how many days the passage thither would require.

The next question is, whether the Phœnicians or Carthaginians ever established any permanent settlements on the coasts of Britain? We know that the colonies of the latter people extended a considerable way along the western shores of the Spanish peninsula, but how far they reached in this quarter we have no positive means of ascertaining. Certainly no account on which we can rely of their having founded colonies in Britain, has come down to us. That it was the general custom, however, of the Carthaginians to form such settlements may be inferred from the account of Hanno's expedition, and that Himilco's also had a similar object in

view is very probable. Moreover, Diodorus and Strabo both expressly mention, that the natives of these islands became civilized through their commerce and intercourse with foreigners[2]. No Phœnician remains of any kind, that I am aware of, have hitherto been discovered in Britain. In Ireland, however, they have still a tradition, founded on the songs of their bards[3], that a portion of the island was once in the possession of settlers who came from Spain, and were called Phenies; these might certainly have been Phœnicians, but they might also have been of Iberian descent. Nevertheless, the tradition is altogether too vague to carry any weight in a critical examination of the question.

[2] STRABO, p. 265. We must take care, however, not to confound his Insulæ Cassiterides, which can hardly be any other than the Scilly Isles, with our Insulæ Œstrymnides.

[3] See Turner's History of England in the Middle Ages, vol. i. p. 282.

APPENDIX IX.

On the commerce of Palmyra and the neighbouring cities[1].

My object in the present essay is to illustrate the commercial history of Palmyra and the neighbouring cities of Arabia Petræa, and the eastern parts of Syria, by means of ancient monuments and inscriptions, still found existing after the lapse of centuries; at the same time, I shall not omit to notice the corresponding statements of contemporary and other writers. Before we proceed, however, to a general discussion of the subject, it will be requisite to premise a few observations relative to the situation and history of Palmyra itself.

This celebrated city, whose ruins still attest its former importance, was situated in the heart of the Syrian desert[2], though on an isolated spot

[1] From a Latin dissertation by the author, entitled *Commercia urbis Palmyræ vicinarumque urbium, ex monumentis et inscriptionibus illustrata.*

[2] Lat. 34. Long. 38° 10′ from Greenwich.

well watered, and abounding with palm trees, from which latter, in fact, it derived its name. It was distant about four or five days' journey from Damascus, and about two or three from the Euphrates. The peculiarity of its situation is well described by Pliny[3]; "Palmyra," says he, "urbis nobilis situ, divitiis soli, et aquis amænis, vasto undique ambitu arenis includit agros, ac velut terris exempta a rerum natura privata sorte, inter duo imperia summa Romanorum Parthorumque; et prima in discordia semper utrimque cura." Palmyra, however, went into decay, and its very name was almost forgotten in consequence of the commercial routes of the caravans from Syria to the Euphrates being altered. It was only in the latter part of the seventeenth century that it again came into notice; and certain English merchants established at Aleppo having had their curiosity excited by the reports of the wandering Arabs, proceeded, in the year 1691, to explore its ruins, and brought home with them copies of some of the inscriptions, which were afterwards published in the Transactions of the Royal Society[4]. From this epoch the attention of antiquaries was generally directed to these interesting remains, until, in the year 1751, two English travellers, named Bouverie and Dawkins, well furnished with the necessary means, having undertaken a journey to

[3] PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 21.

[4] *Philos. Trans.* vol. 48. An explanation of them was attempted by ABRAHAM SELLER, in his *Antiquities and History of Palmyra.* Appendix, London, 1696.

the Levant, with the view of exploring the remains of antiquity to be found in that neighbourhood, determined at the same time to pay a visit to Palmyra, not merely for the purpose of supplying a general description of the ruins, but also of bringing home with them an accurate delineation of the particular buildings, together with copies of the inscriptions. In effecting the latter part of their intention, they were singularly fortunate in making choice of Mr. R. Wood, himself also an antiquarian, and an architect of very great taste. Under his superintendence was published the magnificent work entitled "the Ruins of Palmyra[5]; as well as another of similar form and subject matter, being dedicated to the scarcely less surprising remains of the city of Heliopolis, or Baalbec, in Syria.

The origin of the city Palmyra, as we learn from the Jewish records, may be referred to the tenth century before the birth of Christ, it having been built, together with some other cities in Eastern Syria, by Solomon the son and successor of David. This is expressly mentioned in the book of Kings[6], and in the Chronicles[7], where we read, that "Solomon built Tadmor in the wilderness;" and, according to Josephus[8], Tadmor is the same as Palmyra. "This city," says

[5] *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tadmor*, London, 1753. The splendid work of CASSAS, *Voyage pittoresque en Syrie*, etc. contains drawings of the buildings, but not of the inscriptions.

[6] 1 KINGS ix. 18.

[7] 2 CHRON. viii. 4.

[8] *Ant. Jud.* viii. 6.

he, "was built and strongly fortified by Solomon, who called it Thadamor, as indeed the Syrians do to this day, but the Greeks call it Palmyra." We are not indeed told for what particular purpose Solomon built Palmyra, but as he is said to have surrounded it with very strong fortifications, it must have been intended as a fortress or garrison town to repress the incursions of the wild roving hordes of the desert, especially as the kingdom of Judæa, in consequence of the warlike expeditions of his father David, was extended as far as the banks of the Euphrates. After the time of Solomon, we find no mention of Palmyra in Jewish history, which is not much to be wondered at, considering the revolt of Syria from the Jews, upon the erection of an independent kingdom at Damascus. Some writers, indeed, are of opinion, that the city was taken and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar[9], though I have not been able to ascertain on what authority they found their opinion; it is, however, so far probable that Nebuchadnezzar may have taken Palmyra, as we know that in the course of repeated expeditions against the kings of Judæa and Damascus, he at length reduced the whole of Syria into his power. After the time of Cyrus, Palmyra, from the nature of its situation, was most likely subject to the Persians; but as long as their empire lasted, I can find no mention made of it; from whence we may rightly infer, that the city was not at that period of very great importance, even

[9] SELLER, *loc. cit.* p. 379.

though it might have served the purposes of commerce. We are equally without information as to Palmyra during the military career of Alexander, both when he took possession of Syria, after the battle of Issus, and when he marched from Egypt to the Euphrates; because, in order to avoid the desert, he proceeded straight to that river, which he crossed at Thapsacus. After the death of Alexander, upon the foundation of the empire of the Seleucidæ, the condition of Palmyra seems to have been the same with that of Syria generally; at least, in the monumental inscriptions, of which we shall have soon occasion to speak, the method of computing time by the æra of the Seleucidæ universally prevails; but we look in vain for any account of the city itself during the reign of those monarchs.

We now come down to the time of the Romans; and here, at length, the name of Palmyra seems to have become known to the western world. For when, upon the overthrow of Mithridates, and the expulsion of his ally Tigranes from Asia Minor and Syria, those countries were reduced to the form of Roman provinces, the city of Palmyra, in all apparent probability underwent the same fate. It was possible, however, considering its isolated situation in the middle of a desert, that it might have continued free and independent; and that this is no unwarrantable supposition appears, among other circumstances, particularly from what is reported of the con-

duct of M. Antony in his expedition against Palmyra, and also from what we read in the historian Pliny. For when Antony, after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, took possession of Syria, he despatched his cavalry to plunder Palmyra, by way of remunerating them for their services, objecting against the citizens the crime of siding alternately with the Romans and Parthians, on the confines of whose territories their town was situated. The design of Antony was indeed prevented, as the inhabitants, having obtained previous intelligence, abandoned the city, and transported all their valuable effects beyond the Euphrates, on the further bank of which river they posted a guard of archers to defend the passage, so that the detachment were obliged to return empty handed, and without even coming to an engagement. But had the Palmyrenians been under the power of Rome, I can hardly understand how they could possibly fall under the accusation imputed to them by Antony. However the case may be, this at least is sufficiently evident, that the inhabitants at this period had already acquired a great reputation for wealth. The same may be inferred, I think, from the words of Pliny: "Palmyra, privata sorte utitur inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia utrimque cura:" for what else can the expression "privata sorte utitur" signify, as applied to a town situated between two powerful empires, than that it was subject to neither of them? and

if, upon the breaking out of quarrels between the two powers, it was the first object of both to secure the alliance of such a city as Palmyra, is it not plain that the latter must have been independent, from the very circumstance of its being free to choose which party it would side with?

Palmyra, however, seems to have undergone considerable change soon after the time of Pliny: in fact, it had now reached a period which, if we may judge from existing remains, was by far the most flourishing and prosperous the city had yet seen. Its still surviving monuments almost all belong to the age of the Antonines, including the reign of Adrian, and extend downwards to its final decay under the emperor Aurelian. What was the particular condition of Palmyra under Trajan the contemporary writers have omitted to notice; but as we read of its being *restored*[1] by Adrian, who was his successor, it had probably experienced some reverses of fortune, either in consequence of the wars carried on in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Arabia, during the latter part of Trajan's reign, or from the earthquakes which at that time devastated Antioch and other neighbouring cities. From the remark of Stephanus, just alluded to, it appears, that Adrian not only restored Palmyra, but that he also called it, after his own name, Adrianopolis; an appellation, however, which subsequently grew into disuse. In the in-

[1] STEPHAN. *de Urb. sub* Παλμυρα.

scriptions the name of Adrian occurs twice[2]. From one of them we learn, that the emperor paid a visit to the city, and was received with great pomp and magnificence. The inscription itself is in honour of a certain Malech, also called Agrippa, who on this occasion, when the town was filled with strangers, supplied the public baths with unguents at his own expense. The other inscription is found not in the city itself, but in a neighbouring Mohammedan mosque, and commemorates the piety of a certain Abilenus of Decapolis; who, in the year of the Seleucidæ 445, (A.D. 133,) had erected an oratory to the health of Adrian, and prepared a *pulvinar*, or *lectisternium*, on the occasion. If we enquire how it came to pass that the splendour of Palmyra increased to such a degree under the Antonines, we should recollect what was the peculiar situation of the Asiatic provinces during the reign of those princes. Upon Adrian's spontaneously restoring to the Parthians the provinces which had been taken from them by Trajan, the protracted war between that people and the Romans was followed by a tranquil state of affairs, which lasted all through the reign of Antoninus Pius, and consequently for upwards of forty years. That, during this long interval of peace, as was natural, the arts also of peace were cultivated, magnificent buildings erected, and an additional stimulus given to the

[2] *Ruins of Palmyra*, No. xx. and SELLER, No. xviii. p. 363.

commercial intercourse of Asia, particularly now that a free passage was allowed to merchants travelling through the Parthian territories, has already been shewn in another place[3]. In the absence of almost all the contemporary historians, a sufficient degree of light is thrown upon the subject by the monumental inscriptions of Palmyra, for enabling us to understand how that, in common with the other cities of Syria, attained such an eminent degree of splendour, owing to the vast increase of wealth consequent upon commercial speculation.

With regard to the political condition of Palmyra at this period, it is evident from the inscriptions, that the Romans allowed her such a measure of civil liberty as the "urbes *αὐτονομοι*" enjoyed. We hear of public decrees being issued by the senate and people, though at the same time we meet with frequent mention of the Procurator of Augustus, who, under the title of Ducenarius, superintended the collection of the imperial revenue[4].

As long as the Parthian empire lasted, Palmyra continued faithful to the Romans, whom she frequently assisted in their wars with the former power; and, as the inscriptions testify,

[3] See vol. iii. of this work. Appendix. *On the sources of Ptolemy's geography.* JOH. MALALA, in his *Chronicon*, gives a list of the public buildings erected by the Roman emperors in Syria; and among them, a temple at Heliopolis, by Antoninus Pius. What is surprising, however, the name of Palmyra is not even mentioned by this writer.

[4] *Ruins of Palmyra*, No. xv. xvi. xvii. These inscriptions, however, belong to the last ages of Palmyra; that is, to the time of Gallienus.

gave a splendid reception to the emperors Alexander Severus and Gordian[5], when they visited the city. About this time, however, a great revolution took place in Asia; the Parthian empire, under the Arsacides, being overthrown, and and the Persian dynasty of the Sassanides, under Artaxerxes, being established in its room. The latter, who boasted their descent from the ancient kings of Persia, accordingly strove to recover the provinces formerly belonging to the Persians, but now in the possession of the Romans, which necessarily gave rise to new and frequent wars between the two nations. On this occasion, too, the Palmyrenians, we are informed, continued for some time to side with the Romans. Their forces were commanded by Odenatus, a bold and successful general, of noble birth, and the husband of Zenobia; who, having entered into a league with Balista, the præfectus prætorii, defeated the Persian king Sapor, who had invaded the Roman provinces, drove him beyond the Euphrates, took possession of his capital, Ctesiphon, and restored the wavering power of Rome in the east[6]. In return for these services, he was associated by Gallienus in the empire, under the title of Augustus. Upon the assassination, however, of Odenatus by his kinsman Mæonius, A. D. 260, the whole face of affairs was completely changed: his widow Zenobia, a woman of masculine spirit, who administered the

[5] Inscript. No. ix. Compare JUL. CAPITOLINUS *in* GORD. iii. cap. 9.
[6] TREBELLIUS POLLIO *in* ODENATO, *Script. Hist. Aug.* vol. ii.

government in the name of her sons, neglected the interest of Rome to make an alliance with the Persians; and, with the view of founding an independent kingdom for herself, carried arms over a wide extent of country, invaded Egypt and the provinces of Asia Minor, and affected the haughty title of "Queen of the East[7]." Her success, however, was not of long duration; for Aurelian, having restored tranquillity in the west, proclaimed war against Zenobia, routed her at Emesa, besieged Palmyra, whither she had fled after the battle, and, upon her attempting to escape, took her prisoner and carried her to Rome to adorn his triumph. The consequences of this defeat were ruinous to Palmyra; the citizens having again revolted, Aurelian came back and took the place by storm, slew the inhabitants, according to his own declaration in a letter to the senate[8], and finally razed the city to the ground, A.D. 273. There is no occasion to enlarge upon this part of our subject, as it will be found at length in the contemporary Roman historians.

With respect to the commerce of Palmyra, we shall be best able to explain its nature by referring to that of Asia in general. This has already been done in a preceding part of this volume, where I have proved the commerce in question to have been carried on by land rather than by sea, though in fact the latter kind was

[7] TREBELLIUS POLLIO *in* ZENOBIA.

[8] FLAVIUS VOPISCUS *in* AURELIANO, *Script. Hist. Aug.* vol. ii.

not wanting. The peculiar nature of Asiatic land-commerce is such that it cannot be engaged in by a single individual, or by a few only, but requires the cooperation of a numerous body of merchants travelling in company, who form what is termed a *caravan*. The length of the journey, and the savage disposition of the wild roving hordes, who subsist by plunder, would effectually deter a small unarmed band of individuals from making the attempt. Accordingly, it was usual for a numerous and well-armed body of merchants to assemble together, who elected one of their number as leader of the whole caravan. Their merchandise was transported on camels; but as neither men nor beasts of burden could possibly accomplish the whole journey without stopping, it became necessary to select certain halting-places, for rest and refreshment. Such of these places as offered favourable opportunities in point of situation for the establishment of fairs and markets, became in process of time themselves emporia of considerable trade, and, under fortunate circumstances, soon grew to such a pitch of wealth and prosperity, as to vie with the most splendid cities of the east. Such was Palmyra. Being situated on the confines of the Roman and Parthian empires, its very situation rendered it singularly adapted for all the purposes of intermediate commerce, or, as we should term it, "a carrying-trade." This species of commerce, more

than any other, is calculated to ensure abundant profits, as the goods that have been purchased from one set of traders are not retailed to another, but at a considerable advance upon the prime cost. A similar observation is made by Appian, who says, "Palmyreni, mercatores sunt, qui merces ab Arabibus ac Parthis coemtas, Romanis iterum vendunt[9]." How extremely profitable this kind of trade was to the Palmyrenians has been already noticed by Pliny, where he speaks of the Arabians[1]: "gentes," says he, "quæ hæc agunt, in universum sunt ditissimæ, ut apud quas maximæ Romanorum ac Parthorum opes subsistant, vendentibus quæ capiunt, nihil autem invicem redimentibus." The latter part of this remark will generally apply also to the commercial intercourse of modern Europe with China.

The situation, therefore, of Palmyra in the heart of the Syrian desert, made it necessary that the commercial routes leading thither should be traversed, not by single traders, but by a whole society of merchants, sharing the danger in common. A safe passage through the territories of the wild Arabs was only to be purchased by money, or secured by force of arms. The tribes inhabiting the district now called Nejed were famous, even in the remotest times, for the number and superiority of their camels,

[9] APPIAN, *De Bellis Civilibus*, lib. v.

[1] PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 31.

with which they supplied the Palmyrenians, who would otherwise have been utterly unable to accomplish their long commercial journeys.

The passage, however, through the countries inhabited by the wandering Arabs was attended with very considerable expense:—"Mirum enim," says Pliny, "ex innumeris illorum populis, pars magna in commerciis aut latrociniis[2]." During the prosperous ages of Palmyra, this expense was occasionally defrayed by private citizens or magistrates, to whom, in consequence, public honours were decreed either by the senate and people of the city, or by the caravans of merchants themselves. These honours consisted in erecting a statue, accompanied with an inscription[3], commemorative of the liberality and public spirit of the individual concerned; and it is owing to the fortunate preservation of certain of these inscriptions, that we are enabled in any measure to illustrate the commerce of Palmyra. In prosecuting this subject, we shall therefore, first of all, enquire into the particular articles in which Palmyrenian commerce consisted; secondly, into its nature, and method of carrying on; and thirdly, we shall examine the several routes along which it passed.

[2] PLIN. loc. cit.

[3] In WOOD'S *Palmyra*, these inscriptions are twenty-three in number, of which thirteen are in Palmyrenian character and dialect, with the addition of the Greek interpretation, (explained by EICHHORN, in *Comment. Rec. Soc. Gött.* vol. vi.) and the rest in Greek alone. Three of the latter are here inserted, the fourth or last has been already interpreted by EICHHORN, in the work just quoted.

With respect to the merchandise itself, we have already ascertained it to have consisted for the most part of Arabian and Indian productions; what these were may be easily gathered from Herodotus, Strabo, and other writers. From Arabia was procured frankincense, myrrh, and other aromatics; and from India also, articles of perfumery, pearls, precious stones, together with cotton and silk stuffs of various kinds; all accurately enumerated by the author of the Periplus. At Palmyra were to be had silken garments of a very expensive kind, and remarkable both for their extreme delicacy of texture as well as brilliance of colour, (these were conveyed to Rome, where, however, they were at first prohibited[4],) purple vests of Indian manufacture, embroidered with gold and precious stones, and other articles of commerce, too numerous to mention.

I shall now proceed to notice those inscriptions which serve to throw some light on the character of Palmyrenian commerce. These are four in number, three being written in Greek only, and the last in the dialect of Palmyra, with a Greek translation subjoined. I shall here present them to the reader as they occur in Mr. Wood's work, together with a translation in Latin, remarking beforehand, that I do not intend to trouble him with the niceties of verbal criticism, which would be foreign to my purpose; as all that I wish to deduce from them has reference exclusively to commercial subjects.

[4] FLAVIUS VOPISCUS *in* AURELIANO, cap. 29, 45.

I.

(Ruins of Palmyra, No. XVIII. In the court of the great temple.)

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβάστου Δουχενάριον - - - [ελ]εοδότην τῆς μητροκολωνείας, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντα τὰς συνοδίας ἐξ ἰδίων καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχεμπόρων, καὶ λαμπρῶς στρατηγήσαντα καὶ ἀγορονομήσαντα τῆς αὐτῆς μητροκολονείας, καὶ πλεῖστα οἴκοθεν ἀναλώσαντα, καὶ ἀρέσαντα τῇτε αὐτῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρχον τῶν τοῦ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν τειμῆς ἕνεκεν ἐτ - - - Ξανδικῷ.

" Senatus Populusque *(Palmyrenus)* Septimium optimum Procuratorem Ducenarium Augusti, qui oleum curavit donandum metropoli coloniæ, quique suo sumptu commeatum mercatoribus iter commune facientibus præbuit; et a negotiorum præsidibus amplum testimonium adeptus est; fortiter et cum laude militantem, et ædilem ejusdem metropoleos coloniæ, plurimas etiam opes domi impendentem; ideoque placentem idem Senatui Populoque; nunc magnifice symposiarchum agentem in sacrificiis Jovis Beli honoris ergo *(coluit) anno - - mense Xandico.*"

The Septimius, mentioned in the above inscription, called also Orodes, was the Ducenarius or Procurator of the emperor, and at the same time, *ἀγρόνομος*, or *ædile* of the city of Palmyra. He is commended on many accounts.

First. Because he made the city a present of oil; for there can be no doubt, that the letters

ελ are to be supplied, as Seller has correctly observed[5]. It is easy to conceive, that the consumption of oil must have been very great, not only for the purposes of daily use, but also for the public baths, particularly when we consider the numerous population of the city. Such a present, therefore, must have been very acceptable to the Palmyrenians, as oil could not be procured except at a vast expense, owing to the peculiar situation of Palmyra.

Secondly. Because he entertained or provisioned the company of travelling merchants at his own expense. The inscription therefore alludes to the caravans, whom Septimius Orodes furnished with provisions for their journey.

Thirdly. This grateful attestation was made to Septimius by the prefects or head-men of the merchants, (τοῖς ἀρχεμπόροις); whence we may conclude, that at Palmyra the merchants constituted a particular rank or assembly of individuals, who had their own presiding officers; of whom, however, nothing further is known.

Fourthly. This Orodes, it appears, was also the *Symposiarch*, upon occasion of festivals and sacrifices being held in honour of Jupiter Belus, or the Sun, who was the tutelar divinity of the city, as well as of its merchants. He is said to have discharged this office in a splendid manner, as having taken upon himself the whole management of the sacrifices, together with the sumptuous banquets which usually succeeded. We learn, therefore,

[5] SELLER, in the Appendix, p. 323.

from the above inscription, that the care of superintending sacred and commercial matters was vested in the same person, which also supplies us with an additional proof, that among the Palmyrenians, as well as the other nations of the east, an intimate connexion subsisted between religion and commerce.

For all these services, the senate and people of Palmyra awarded to Septimius Orodes the honour of a public inscription, and no doubt also a statue, set up in the court of the principal temple, commemorating his munificent liberality to his native town.

II.

(*Ruins of Palmyra*, No. X. In the long portico.)

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβαίδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβαίδου Ασθορουβαιδα οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ὀλογεσιάδα ἐμποροίαν ἔστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν Ξανδικῷ του ΗΝΦ ἔτους.

"Julium Aurelium Zebidam Mozimi F. Zebidæ nepotem mercatores qui cum illo descenderunt ad Vologesiæ mercatum constituerunt Asthorubaida, virum ipsis gratissimum honoris gratia, *a.* 558. *Sel.* (*Chr.* 246.)

1. Here again we meet with a company of merchants, under the conduct of Aurelius Zebida, coming down from Palmyra to Vologesia, a town situate on the Euphrates, in order to attend the markets held there.

2. These merchants, it seems, elected Zebida to the office of Astorubaida. The latter appel-

lation must of course be interpreted from the Palmyrenian dialect, and not from the Greek. According to Prof. Ewald; "It is of Semitic origin, the latter part of the compound being evidently the Arabic, بيدا, *Baida*, i. e. desertum; with respect to *ασθερου*, supposing the letter *θ* to represent ת, it might stand for אַסְתָּרוּ, tutela; so that the whole word would mean *præsidium deserti;* but it seems more likely to come from אַשְׁטְרוּ, (in Hebrew, שׁוֹטֵר,) which makes the whole equivalent to *præfectus deserti.*" Which of these two interpretations be the more probable I leave my readers to judge, though I certainly prefer the last mentioned, so that Astorubaida would be a kind of honorary title conferred upon the leader of a caravan, after a prosperous journey, similar to that of Imperator, with which the Roman legions saluted their general. In fact, it is a title not merely given by acclamation, but commemorated on a public monument, which could hardly have been done without public authority.

3. This inscription was set up, possibly together with a statue, by the company of merchants, (not by the senate and people,) because Zebaida had discharged his office of conductor with great credit. The date of the inscription coincides with the year 246, A. D., and consequently with the reign of the emperor Philip. As to Zebaida himself, it is not altogether improbable, that he was the same person as Zaba, or Zabda, who is mentioned among the generals

of Zenobia, in the time of Aurelian, twenty-five years afterwards[6], in which case he must have been a young man when he was appointed Astorubaida; but in a question of so much uncertainty, I dare not venture to be positive.

III.

(*Ruins of Palmyra,* No. V, in the court of the temple.)

Νέσῃ Ἀλλάτου τοῦ Νέσῃ τοῦ Ἀλλάτου συνοδιάρχην οἱ συναναβάντες μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔμποροι ἀπὸ Φοράθου καὶ Ὀλαγασιάδος τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστείας ἕνεκεν ἔτους ΓΝΤ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

"Nesæ, Allati F. Nesæ N. Synodiarchæ, mercatores qui cum eo descenderunt ab Euphrate et Vologesia, honoris et gratitudinis causa (hanc statuam posuerunt) a. 453, (Chr. 141.)"

This inscription is almost of similar import with the preceding one. We learn from it,

1. That it was set up, and perhaps together with a statue, in the court of the temple, in honour of a certain Nesa, the son of Allatus, of whom nothing more is known.

2. That this was done by the company of merchants to whom Nesa had served the office of *Synodiarch,* or conductor.

3. That this company also had returned to Palmyra from the Euphrates, and the city of Vologesia.

4. That this occurred in the year 141, A.D.,

[6] Zosimus, i. 50, 51. F. Vopiscus in Aureliano, cap. 25.

and consequently under the reign of Antoninus Pius.

And lastly, from the circumstance of the inscription being set up in the court of the temple itself, we derive another proof of the connexion between commerce and religion.

IV.

(*Ruins of Palmyra*, No. XIII. This inscription is found in the long portico, and is written both in Greek and in the Palmyrenian dialect. The Greek translation is imperfect, but the Palmyrenian is preserved entire, and has been interpreted by Eichhorn (loc. cit.) in Hebrew and Latin. It is short indeed, but remarkable, from being set up in honour of a Jew.)

Ἡ Βουλ[ὴ καὶ ὁ Δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Ἀυρήλιο[ν - - - - αθον Μάλη ἀρχέμπορον ἀνακομίσαν[τα - - - -] συνοδίαν προῖκα ἐξ ἰδίων τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους Θξψ.

Hæc est statua Julii Aurelii Schalmalath, filii Malæ, Hebræi, ducis societatis peregrinatorum, quam in ejus honorem erexit S. P. Q. P. quod adduceret talem societatem. Gratis solebat itinera facere. A. 569, (Chr. 258.)

1. This monument it appears was erected in honour of a certain Schalmalath, who is expressly said to have been a Jew. It follows therefore, that Jews[7] also exercised the mercan-

[7] What a vast concourse of strangers there was in Palmyra may be gathered from the list of captive nations which adorned the triumph of Aurelian, given by Flav. Vopiscus, c. 33. He mentions the Blemmyes, Axumitans, natives of Arabia Felix, Indians, Bactrians, Iberians, Saracens, Persians, besides others from the north.

tile profession at Palmyra, were in the habit of making journeys, and held in so much respect as to have public honours paid them.

2. This Schalmalath had served the office of ἀρχέμπορος, or conductor of the caravan, which he brought safe to Palmyra, and indeed at his own private expense. The addition of "gratis solebat itinera facere," leads us to infer that he had often exhibited such proofs of liberality before, and thus have laid repeated claims to the gratitude of the city.

3. The statue and inscription were erected to him, not by the merchants themselves, but by the senate and people of Palmyra, which is an additional proof of their high regard for individuals who had deserved well of the merchants when on a commercial expedition. Nor is it surprising that public honours should be awarded them in consequence, when we consider that the welfare of the state absolutely depended on the safe arrival of the caravans.

It is, I think, sufficiently evident, from what has been advanced on this subject, that the commercial interests of Palmyra were supposed to be under the special protection of the gods, that is, of the tutelar divinity of the city, viz. the Sun. This is confirmed by the character of the places where the inscriptions are found. The temple dedicated to the Sun stood in the middle of a spacious area or court, forming a square, and of such extent, that a whole encampment of Be-

douin Arabs is contained in the enclosure. This was surrounded with double peristyle, each consisting of about a hundred pillars, behind which was a series of apartments. The entrance was through a grand and highly ornamented portico; immediately upon entering were seen two large tanks or reservoirs, eight feet deep, and furnished with steps to go down into the water; the whole court being paved with marble[8]. Its modern appellation among the Arabs is, "the court of Camels," which leads us in a moment to suspect, that its original destination was precisely similar. It has, in fact, all the appearance of an eastern caravanserai; its form is square; the portico, with the adjoining apartments, seem intended for the convenience of travellers; the tanks supplied an abundance of water, while the spacious court afforded plenty of room for the beasts of burden, and the merchandise they conveyed.

It is here too, as we have already seen, that the statues with inscriptions were erected in honour of those individuals who had conducted the caravans at their own expense. In the neighbourhood was another stupendous portico, upwards of four thousand feet long, itself also ornamented with inscriptions and statues in honour of particular merchants. When we take all this into consideration, are we not authorized in supposing

[8] Compare for this and what follows, the concise description of CASSAS, attached to his Views of Palmyra.

this court of the temple to have been originally a kind of public inn, (the erection of such places in the east being always regarded in the light of a religious obligation,) destined for the reception of the merchants and their camels? May not the long portico, secured as it was from the scorching rays of the sun, have been a kind of bazâr or exchange, where the merchants exposed their commodities for sale, and at the same time assembled for the transaction of business? We must, it is true, be content to leave this for mere conjecture; but that the place in question was in some way or other subservient to the purposes of commerce, is plain enough from the inscriptions themselves.

As to the enormous wealth of the Palmyrenian merchants, it will be sufficient to quote what Flavius Vopiscus says of Firmus, a native of Seleucia, and the ally and friend of Zenobia, who arrogated to himself the title of prince, but was afterwards overthrown by Aurelian:—"De hujus divitiis multa dicuntur. Nam et vitreis quadraturis domum induxisse perhibetur, et tantum habuisse de chartis, ut publice sæpe diceret exercitum se alere posse papyro et glutino. Idem et cum Blemmyis (Nubiæ populo supra Ægyptum) societatem maximam tenuit, et cum Saracenis (Arabibus); naves quoque negotiatorias ad Indos sæpe misit. Ipse quoque habuisse dicitur duos dentes elephanti, pedum denûm, ex quibus Aurelianus ipse sellam constituerat facere[9]."—

[9] FLAV. VOPISCUS *in* FIRMO, cap. 3.

It is well known that the inhabitants of Sidon understood the art of manufacturing glass; which however was not employed for windows, or for making cups and other articles of domestic use, but solely for the luxurious purpose of overlaying the walls of their houses, etc.

It now remains for us to say something of the particular routes by which the Palmyrenian merchants travelled in their commercial expeditions. I consider this part of our subject of very great importance, as involving not merely the conveyance of merchandise, but also the propagation of religious opinions, laws, and national civilization in general. As far as Palmyra is concerned, I shall rest my deductions chiefly on the authority of Appian and Pliny, before quoted, and which proves the Palmyrenians to have had in their hands the intermediate commerce, or carrying trade, between the countries of the east and the whole western world. The language of these writers is alone sufficient to shew, that the commercial routes in question were directed partly towards the south, partly towards the east, and partly towards the west.

Those routes which had a southern direction, led, in the one case, into Arabia, in the other to Egypt. That the Arabian trade was of very great importance, and perhaps the most considerable of all, I consider to be evident from what has gone before. With regard to the particular route which it traversed, some light is thrown on the subject by a passage in Pliny,

(Hist. Nat. vi. 32.) "Nabatæi, Arabiæ populus, oppidum includunt *Petram* nomine in convalle, paulo minus duorum millium passuum amplitudine, circumdatum montibus inaccessis. Huc convenit utrimque *bivium* eorum qui et Syria (al. Syriæ) Palmyram petiere, et eorum qui ab Gaza venerunt." As to the situation of Petra, there can no longer be any doubt that it is the same as the modern *Carrak*. It has been seen and described by Burckhardt[1]; and a ground plan and views of the ruins are given by Laborde. The place is strongly fortified by nature, and is distant about thirteen geographical miles south of the Dead Sea. An extremely narrow defile between lofty mountains, more like a sheepwalk than a regular path, leads to a plain of moderate extent, shut in on all sides by precipitous rocks, in the middle of which stands the city of Petra, still remarkable for its remains of ancient buildings. In the time of Alexander, and consequently therefore under the Persian dynasty, Petra was the emporium for the aromatics which the Nabatheans brought thither from Arabia Felix. Antigonus formed the design of plundering this opulent city; and with that view sent his son Demetrius, who carried off from Petra five hundred talents of silver, together with a large quantity of frankincense; he was however eventually defeated in his enterprise, for the Nabatheans pursuing after him, succeeded in recovering the stolen booty[2].

[1] *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 422.

[2] This story is related by DIODORUS ii. p. 390.

From the words of Pliny, whichever reading we choose to prefer, one thing at least is certain, that at Petra the commercial road parted in two directions, one leading to the left towards Gaza and the shores of Syria; the other to the right towards Palmyra. We have already shewn from Strabo[3], that the road to Arabia Felix, that is, the region of Hadramaut, the native country of frankincense, occupied seventy days' journey from Petra; though it is not likely the Palmyrenian merchants proceeded further than the last named place, which was the market for the productions of Arabia.

That Palmyra maintained a commercial intercourse with Egypt, that is, with Alexandria, may be inferred from the vicinity of these cities, as well as the example of Firmus quoted above. If, as he is reported to have done, he kept up a close correspondence with the Blemmyans, a people of Nubia, who traded at Meroe in the interior of Africa, it is evident that a part of this commerce also was in the hands of the merchants of Palmyra. Moreover, we learn of Firmus, that he had a share in the Indian trade, and by sea too; according to Strabo[4], the grand emporium for the latter was the port of Myos Hormos in Egypt, situate on the Arabian gulf, from whence also Firmus must have despatched his ships to the Indian markets; for, to the best of our knowledge, the Persian gulf, in the time of the Parthian empire, was not open to the trade with

[3] STRAB. p. 1113; see the chapter on the *Phœnicians*.

[4] STRAB. p. 179.

India. However this may be, it is quite certain that the Palmyrenians, in addition to their commerce by land, exercised also a sea trade with India.

Further: that the routes leading from Palmyra towards the east were also frequented by her merchants might be inferred from the situation of that city itself, as being the intermediate point of the carrying trade between the East and the western world. The inscriptions, however, are conclusive of the fact. From them we learn, that one of these routes was directed towards the Euphrates, and consequently to Babylonia; which I have already shewn to have been, in very ancient times, a celebrated commercial country[5]. The city, indeed, from which it derived its own name, was no longer in existence when Palmyra flourished, as we are informed by Strabo and Pliny. The latter has these words:—"Babylon, Chaldaicarum gentium caput, diu summam claritatem obtinuit in toto orbe. Nunc ad solitudinem rediit, exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a (Seleuco) Nicatore intra nonagesimum lapidem, ad Tigrin. Ferunt ei plebis urbanæ DC. M. esse. Invicem ad hanc exhauriendam Ctesiphontem, quod nunc caput est regnorum juxta tertium ab ea lapidem condidere Parthi. Et postquam nihil proficiebatur, nuper Vologesus rex aliud oppidum *Vologesocertam* in vicinio condidit[6]." Now if the treasures of Parthia were ex-

[5] See the chapter on the *Babylonians*.

[6] *Hist. Nat.* vi. 30.

hausted by the Arabian trade, as the same writer asserts to have been the case, there can be no doubt that the cities just mentioned were the principal emporia for it.

We learn however from the inscriptions, that the Palmyrenian caravans did not actually proceed as far as the great cities, but stopped short in the town of Vologesia, which Pliny calls Vologesocerta. It is, in fact, the peculiar nature of Asiatic commercial intercourse, that the merchants travelling in company do not go at once to the royal cities, but halt at some station in the neighbourhood, where they expose their goods for sale, and which, from that circumstance, and from being much frequented by the inhabitants and general traders, becomes itself a town of considerable importance; from hence to the capital the road is easy and secure, and individual merchants may proceed thither without danger. Thus the caravans for Constantinople stop short at Brussa, and those for Cairo in the town of Girgeh. In the same manner, the inscriptions inform us that the merchants of Palmyra halted at Vologesia; which was situate on the Euphrates, near Babylon, and only a day's journey or two from Ctesiphon. Vologesia was built by Vologesus, the first of that name, and a contemporary of Nero, a little before Pliny's time, as he himself reports[7]. The inscription already noticed shews, that markets or fairs (ἐμπορεῖα) were held here for the sale of mer-

[7] PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* loc. cit.

chandise brought by the caravans. From hence the merchants could proceed to Seleucia and Ctesiphon with perfect security, and without the risk of being plundered; whereas from Palmyra, through the middle of the desert, they were obliged to travel in numerous companies, and well armed. There appear to have been certain stations on this route, the names of which, otherwise unknown, are mentioned by Ptolemy[8]. In the time of Strabo, when Vologesia was not yet built, the Syrian merchants turned off towards the north, and passed the Euphrates at Anthemusias, in order to escape the oppressive exactions of the petty Arabian princes[9]. The merchants of Palmyra, who frequented the royal cities and commercial towns of the Parthian empire, brought home with them the productions of India, and even, as appears likely, of China itself, the original country of silk; these they disposed of to the traders of the Roman world. We have already shewn in another place, that Babylonia and its various cities were, from the most ancient times, the common emporia of eastern commerce. But as the limits of the Parthian empire were contiguous to India, it was very easy for the inhabitants of the former to hold a commercial intercourse with the Indians; though it does not, indeed, appear that the Palmyrenians themselves ever proceeded as far as

[8] PTOL. v. 15: for instance, Avoria, Adacha, and others.
[9] STRAB. p. 1084.

India, by land; the extreme limit of their mercantile expeditions, being the city of Vologesia.

Lastly: the commercial routes of Palmyra were directed towards the cities of Syria and the Phœnician ports. The particular stations on the line are not, in fact, mentioned by any writer of antiquity; but we have sufficient evidence in the splendid ruins of temples and other buildings still found at Emesa, (Homs,) and Heliopolis, (Baalbec.) The predominant worship in these places, as at Palmyra, was that of the sun; and they were both situated on the direct road from the latter city to the shores of the Mediterranean; so there can be no doubt of their having been stations for the caravans of Palmyra.

The accounts of recent travellers, particularly Seetzen and Burckhardt, speak also of magnificent ruins, scarcely less remarkable than those of Palmyra, existing in the eastern part of Palestine, beyond the Jordan and the Dead Sea, formerly called Decapolis. The principal of these remains are found at the ancient Gerasa, Gadara, and Philadelphia. The ruins of Gerasa, named Jerash by the Arabs, have been described by Burckhardt[1], and consist of a temple and portico, together with an amphitheatre: those of Gadara and Philadelphia are said to be little inferior. If we ask how these cities, on the very margin of the desert, arrived at such a pitch of splendour, opulence, and luxury, the same causes may be alleged as contributed to the elevation of Pal-

[1] *Travels in Syria*, p. 252.

myra. They were all situate on the direct road which led from Petra, the principal emporium of Arabian commerce, to Damascus and Palmyra; they flourished in the same age, their architectural remains exhibit the same character, and the name of Antoninus occurs at least once in all three[2]. But as we do not find in these ancient cities any inscriptions similar to those of Palmyra, I forbear to enlarge upon them in this place, having confined myself throughout to such evidence only as depended on the express testimony either of ancient writers or of the monuments themselves.

[2] BURCKHARDT, loc. cit. The words Μαρκον Αυρ - - - - ν, occur on a fragment of stone.

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